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KHARIA TRIBE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN THROUGH THE CREATION MYTHS

LAXMI KUMARI, MD. MOJIBUR RAHMAN

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to procure a deep knowledge regarding the origin of the *Kharia* tribe and to expand the facts about the origin of this unique *Kharia* tribe of *Jharkhand*. Creation myths acts as a tool to portray the clear picture of the creation, destruction, and re-creation of the tribe. The genre of creation tales is always fascinating and it keeps drawing the attention of the academicians and anthropologists. The *Kharia* tribe of *Jharkhand* has not been studied exhaustively in the recent years. Being from this region and a close observant it came to notice that this indigenous tribe is losing its original essence and culture. Therefore, to retain the magnificent culture and literature of the tribe, it was a need to re-visit the history and myths of the tribe. This study in detail, describes the origin myths, from the beginning of a mankind to the destruction and the revival of the humanity and the human race. It has explained their approach towards life, customs, and tradition related to their living and way of sustenance in this world. The present work is an ethnographic account of the *Kharia* tribe and has tried to unfold the layers of mystery which was not researched much. This piece of writing, portrays the culture of the *Kharia* tribe which has not been recognized abundantly in this contemporary world. Tribal literature is not favored much like the other literature of our nation. This form of study shall add a new dimension in this genre and thus gives new prospects for future researchers.

Keywords: Kharia Tribe, Myths, Creation, Ethnographic, Culture.

INTRODUCTION

Human life and the mystery regarding its evolution has been constantly drawing attention of the academicians globally. The enigmatic view behind human evolution lies under the sheets of songs, myths and tales of the community. All ethnic group has different narrative and myths related to human origin. The verities lie in the fact that every large and small cultural group have different way or different saying about the way of life. Birth and death are a vicious cycle of human evolution and it is a part of all cultural group but the modification lies in the rituals that take place during birth and cremation. The rituals and its course of

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development are always conveyed through the medium of tales, poems, and riddles in all the community. These myths or sayings or tales regarding creation of human being is passed from one generation to another. Oral tradition is an important medium to keep these tales alive and carry them to all the generation of the civilized community.

Creation, destruction and re-creation is a basic feature of a world recognized culture; it is universal. It is witnessed across the world that culture revolve around basic human survival, such as finding food, clothing and shelter or around shared human experience, such as birth and death or illness and healing. Every human society recognizes a family structure that regulate the sexual reproduction and the care of children. All existing culture in the past, present and future believes in human evolution but because of the geographical distribution and vast cultural space, the myths connected to human species are always portrayed differently. This universally recognized culture is seen since ancient literature (Titus Lucretius Carus's *On the Nature of Things* [De Rerum Natura]), from Greek mythology to Hindu mythology and to tribal mythology. In classical Epicureanism, *De Rerum Natura* portrayed the understanding of mankind and the celestial body. In book 5 of *De Rerum Natura* it is explained that the four-component element of the world (Earth, water, air, fire) are immortal. The recency of the world indicates that the world is young, it had a beginning and it is destined to be destroyed. (McGoodwin 1996)

The Greek mythology is also not an exception, like any other mythologies it does have an institutional implication of cultural universality. Prometheus, son of Zeus, was the creator of mankind, and Epimetheus created animals. One of the sons of Zeus created a beautiful woman and named her Pandora. Every god gifted her some valuable gifts but Zeus gift was mysterious, he gave her a box and asked not to open it. Zeus presented Pandora to Epimetheus as her wife. Pandora became furious to open the box, and thus, when Epimetheus was out, Pandora opened the box and out of it flew all the horrors which plague the whole world with pain, sickness, envy and greed. This terrible plague was the sign of destruction, which spread in the world to destroy the peace of human species. Soon after closing the lid of the box, they could hear some sound coming from the box saying 'let me come out, I am hope'. This symbolises that in every culture there is a concept of creation and destruction and again recreation which is signified by 'hope'. (Black 2013)

The Hindu mythology also supports the concept of evolution and destruction. According to Hindu mythology Lord Brahma[1] is the creator of all, he created human beings, living organisms, flora and fauna. It is said in Hindu mythology that all different species come out from Lord Brahma's body. One of the stories says that Brahma split himself into two to create male and female. It is written in the Vedas that the supreme god is the creator and destructor of everything and the

[1] According to Hindu mythology Lord Brahma is the creator of the universe. Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh (Lord Shiva) are called the Trinity, they are referred as one supreme power but in three different forms.

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universe revolve around three Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. The concept of *Pralaya*[2] of Hindu mythology is the concept of destruction of humanity which can happen through any natural calamity. (Halloway 2013)

The broad-spectrum of culture in every space of the world depends on creation, destruction and re-creation. The *Kharia*[3] tribe of Jharkhand[4] belong to the *Kolarian*[5] tribe, they are part of Austro-Asiatic language family. Genetic studies of this language family have arisen in India and spread towards east. *Santhal*[6] and *Munda*[7] are also two major tribes of *Kolarian* family. They inhabit mainly in the Indian state of *Jharkhand* as well as adjacent Indian states. According to *Santhal* myth, pair of humans came from the bird's named *Has*[8] and *Hasil*[9]. In *Munda* myth the first pair of boy and girl was hatched from a bird called *Hur* (swan). The *Kharia* tribe, in the recent study is among the five major tribes of Jharkhand. It also belongs to the *Kolarian* tribe and originates from Austro-Asiatic language family. This tribe is less populated in comparison to *Santhal* and *Munda*, hence it is not acknowledged much in the genre of tribal literature. The thought behind studying this tribe is to preserve the culture and tradition and to restore the dying literature of this community.

Our tradition and culture lie universally in the forms of folklore or folktales. The oral narratives behave as connectives with our culture and tradition practiced since the existence of human civilization. The purpose of the study is to identify the unique culture of the tribe. Folktales act as a tool to portray the clear picture of the creation, destruction and re-creation of the tribe. It helps to identify their approach towards life, their customs and tradition related to their living and also their way of sustenance in this world. Being from this region and a close observer, it has come to notice that the cultural essence of the tribe is digging its grave. The tribe is being be bereaved from its own origin. This study in detail illustrates the analysis of the origin tales which has not been studied exhaustively by the academicians. Through this work the culture of the *Kharia* tribe which has not been recognised much in the former days will be treasured by the forthcoming generation.

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[2] In Hindu mythology, Pralaya is a Hindi term and it means destruction of the whole human race. It can be in any form deluge, fire-rain etc.

[3] Kharia is an indigenous tribe of Jharkhand, India. They are one of the primitive tribes and one of the first residents of the state. Kharia is one of the major tribes of Jharkhand and its culture is on the verge of extinction.

[4] Jharkhand is a tribal state in eastern India. It is rich with the indigenous culture but with the development and urbanization the originality of the culture is in great danger. Jharkhand was known as Chotanagpur plateau in the early years of 20th century

[5] The Kol lent their name to the language group formerly known as the Kolarian, and now better known as the Mundari or Austroasiatic language family. The kol belonged to the Proto-Austroloid ethnic stratum. The (Santhal, Munda, Ho, Bhumij, Kharia, Kharwar and Korwa) tribes of Jharkhand, who are akin to the kol were termed Kolarian tribes. (https://www.everyculture.com/South-Asia/Kol-Orientation.)

[6] Santhal is also an indigenous tribe of Jharkhand, with largest population among all the tribes.

[7] Jharkhand has five major tribe: Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho and Kharia. Munda tribe is second largest populated tribe of the state.

[8] Type of a bird, swan.

[9] Type of a bird, swan.

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THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Edward Tylor became the pioneer who stated that culture is studied and developed as opposite to being a biological trait. This was reflex against the backdrop of colonialism, racism, and social evolutionism – the dominant ideologies of the nineteenth century. His definition is also one of the first anthropological definitions of culture. Tylor defined culture:

> Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnography sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, moral, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (Tylor, cited in Logan 2012, 1)

Here Tylor explains the shared knowledge which an individual acquires as a part of society. According to him culture is the mental capabilities and behaviour, it is learned and shared. It is a social body, act as an integrated whole and is dialectical. At the same time Matthew Arnold (1994) in *Culture and Anarchy* defined culture in idealist terms. It represents something to strive for, his theory was different from anthropological point like that of Tylor's. In his view culture is not something to be learned but it's the natural way of life in a complete way. Arnold also defines Culture as an individual and culture as a whole society. While Tylor focused on the insular, subjective life of 'primitives,' Arnold idea that Victorians displayed a similar disability. Notwithstanding the obtrusive variations among Arnold's treatise on Victorian Britain and Tylor's on human prehistory, both works attention was on the hassle of overcoming a narrow subjectivism and studying to realise the social body as a whole.

Tylor (1871) has explained that 'culture had three essential premises: the existence of one culture, its development through one progression and humanity as united by one mind.' He saw culture as universal and believed that all societies were essentially alike and capable of being ranked by their different levels of cultural advancement.

In E.B. Tylor's 1871 book *Primitive Culture*, he has investigated the origin and development of religious beliefs. He argued that human religion has passed through three stages. The first animism, defined as the belief that all of the nature is populated by supernatural beings such as ghosts, demons and nature spirits. At a later stage of cultural evolution, some of the spirits became elevated to a higher position than others, taking on more prominence in the belief system. They ultimately became God of the sun, moon, sky, Earth, animals, and other elements, thus giving rise to next stage of religion, polytheism: belief in many Gods. Eventually one God became dominant over the others and people believed the others were 'false gods' thus was born the final stage of religion, monotheism: belief in only one god. Religion thus had simple origins in primitives' peoples' attempts to explain their experiences, and it evolved into its final-highest, Western-form many centuries. Later Tylor said:

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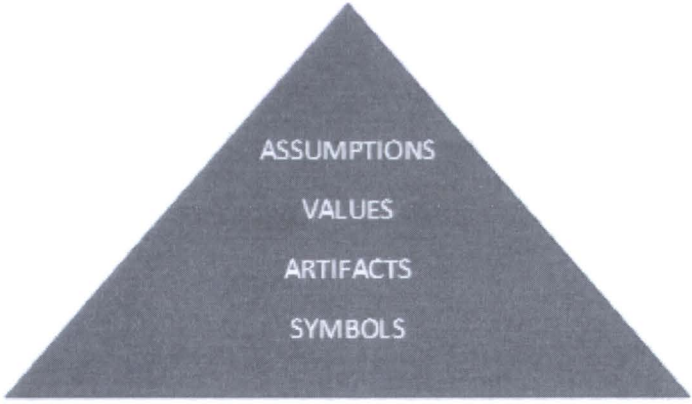
> history of mankind is part and parcel of the history of nature, . . . our thoughts, wills, and actions accord with laws as definite as those which govern the motion of waves, the combinations of acids and bases, and the growth of plants and animals. (Tylor 1871, 2)

Universal cultural is also a fact that all the culture resembles in some way, with some universal facts of life like origin of humans, their destruction, life dependence on agriculture or on food, family, reproduction and so on. The execution is different in every culture and that needs our attention. Universal Culture is a value, norm, or other cultural trait that is found in every group. Although there are universal human activities (singing, playing games, story-telling, preparing food, marrying, child rearing, disposing of the dead, and so on), there is no universally accepted way of doing any of them. Humans have no biological imperative that results in one particular form of behaviour throughout the world.

With a different perspective, anthropologist (Murdock 1945) combed through the data that anthropologists had gathered on hundreds of groups around the world. He compared their customs concerning courtship, marriage, funerals, games, laws, music, myths, incest taboos, and even toilet training. He found that these activities are present in all cultures, but the specific customs differ from one group to another. There is no universal form of the family, no universal way of toilet training children, or a universal way of disposing of the dead.

From both the perspective, culture as an individual and culture as universal, the present study has portrayed the culture of *Kharia* tribe through its creation tales focussing on the evolution and destruction myths of the tribe. As evolution and destruction both are irresistible fact of any community. Similarly, this study shows the culture of *Kharia* tribe, its origin, destruction and re-creation.

METHODOLOGY



Kharia is one of the five major tribes of Jharkhand. It is one of the less known tribe of the state. The tales of the tribe act as tool to study the culture of the

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tribe since its beginning. To examine the culture of the tribe one need to analyse the tales from the perspective of culture. The question arises is what is cultural analysis and how it can be carried out. According to S. J. Bill Toner (2003) cultural analysis can be divided in four different levels as described in the diagram above.

Assumptions are based on pre-conceived notions or an ancient belief which is considered as the shared knowledge of the community. Assumptions can be considered common among the communities or even it can be taken as distinct belief depending on each community. It is connected with myths like in *Kharia* tribe it is seen that the supreme deity destroys the human race two times: firstly, by flood and secondly by fire, here the notion is that whenever humans cross their parameters and become rampant, they are destroyed through some natural calamity. It is assumed that these natural disasters are caused by the supreme deity to control the human race from making the survival horrendous. The basic assumptions turn into values of the particular culture, tribe or community. It is vice-versa also the values also play a major role in creating basic assumptions. By values, I mean the norms followed by the community or can also say that these assumptions or values gradually becomes 'belief' of the community. For instance, in *Kharia* tribe the destruction caused by the deity is seen as religious belief. This belief is followed from the ancient times but as discussed earlier that the concept of destruction exists in almost all the culture, therefore it acts as a basic assumption for all the community.

Artifacts are the expression expressed through culture, it may be the technology or art in anthropology, it even includes patterns of behavior. Visible level of culture lies in the artifacts or creation i.e., the physical environment or the setting of the tales narrated, the output of the group, the language scripted or spoken, the gestures, behavior of the members of the group. Basically, it is the message conveyed through the scenes, setting, characters, and the dialogues produced in the narratives or in the script. Artifacts can be taken as illustrations from the tales like the description of *Banyan*[10] tree and *Sal*[11] tree. In the *Kharia* tales, these trees have religious importance. Banyan tree and Sal tree leaves are considered sacred for tribal communities. In every *Kharia* village the place where Banyan tree is sowed is considered as their sacred place and even the *panchayat*[12] committee sits under this tree to give judgement on any issue brought by the people of the tribe. Even in *Santhal* tribe also the significance of trees is acknowledged. According to a story, the branch of Sal tree is carried in a public place to announce any announcement and the date is conveyed through the leaves remaining in the branch. Such usage of any incident or things is an example of artifacts.

These artifacts are also symbolic to cultures. Symbols can be anything, an act or narration which carries deeper meaning or significance. It is not essential that

[10] Banyan tree (Ficus benghalensis) is considered sacred among tribal communities.

[11] Sal tree (Shorea robusta) is also considered sacred among the tribals of Jharkhand but in Santhal tribe it has special significance.

[12] A village council in India which consist of influential five people to govern the village.

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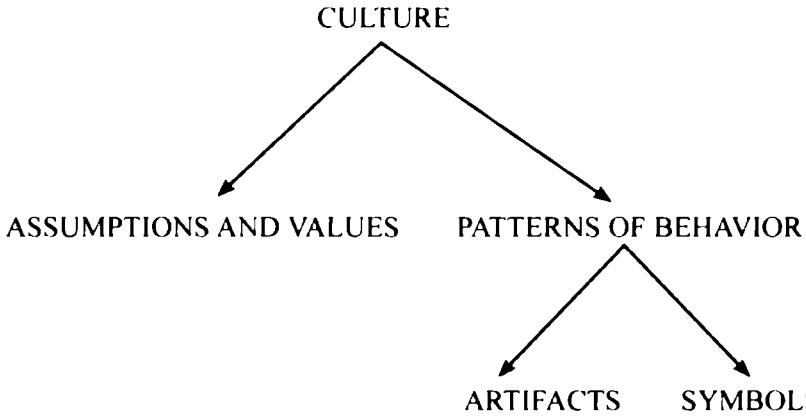
things can only be symbolic, for instance, in *Kharia* there is story named *Pakshiyon*[13] *Mein Rang Parivartan*[14](Color change among the birds) this story is about how the birds change their color depending on the surrounding. These birds here is symbolic, the changing color in birds act as characters to describe human behavior. It acts as a metaphor to describe human nature in this present world.

Cultural analysis plays a vital role in understanding any cultural shift which the community is undergoing. This cultural shift affects the tribe to preserve the ethnicity of the tribe. Through the analysis the pictures become clear about the success and failures of culture and structure which the society faces after the new adaptations by the community. According to S.J. Bill Toner (2000) it is useful to divide total culture into two sets of components:

1. Assumptions and Values
2. Patterns of Behavior: Artifacts and Symbols



Assumptions and values are considered as less visible and primary, artifacts and symbols are more visible but they are derivative. Artifacts and symbols are derived from assumptions and values. Changes in basic assumptions leads to change in Patterns of Behavior.

The process to examine culture is to study as many artifacts (stories, jokes, riddles, song) and significant patterns of behavior. It is important to note any symbolic uses of artifacts or behavior which is rare to any culture. Data must be organized and reorganized until they are suggesting some specific features, norms, values, or symbolize something. Cultural analysis has lot of uncertainty because things and perspectives differ from person to person. And the interpreter might be unaware of some of their assumptions or beliefs. So, the study is always open to revisit.

[13] Pakshiyon means birds in plural form.

[14] Parivartan means change (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*).

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LITERATURE REVIEW

In accordance with the studies done on the tribes of *Jharkhand*, it is observed that researchers have been persistently working on *Santhal* tribe since decades. There are some limited studies on *Oraon*[15] and *Munda* but *Ho*[16] and *Kharia* has not been explored much. This study has focused on the cultural aspect of the *Kharia* tribe so I would like to illustrate some of the related works contributed to this genre in past decades. The instances will also portray that *Santhal*, *Oraon* and *Munda* is the most read tribe among the major tribes of *Jharkhand*.

The research on the tribes and on tribal folklore began since the time of colonization. The prominent works of *Santhal*s on folktales, traditions and dictionary are by Bodding (2007; 2013; 2018). Skrefsurd (1887) have worked on *Santhal* language and continued the mission started by Bodding. Bompass (2008) have worked on folklore of *Santhal* Parganas and on children folklore on *Santhal* in four volumes. Eminent works on *Munda* tribe like *Mundari Grammar and Exercises* and *Encyclopedia Mundarica* are by Hoffman (2001; 2013).

Murmu (1996) unfolds the myth of the origin of whole human race in *Santhal* culture. It describes relationship between God (*Sing Bonga*[17]) and humankind since past. The whole myth of origin has been dealt with; he has shown that *Santhal* believes in life after death. According to *Santhal*s the body dies but the soul remains in this world and Murmu has compared this belief with the Christian theology. He said that the combination of 'body' and 'spirit' have similarities with Biblical view of original creation of Adam and Eve. Hadders (2015) in his study has investigated a few ramifications of the different oral and written forms of creation myths of *Santhals* in the wake of modern advancement, and afterward associate these experiences to certain parts of the work, the *Jadopatia* perform among the *Santhals*. *Jadopatias* are male entertainers of Bengali commenced working predominantly in the *Santhal* families where they show their paintings related *Santhal* myths basically on creation of universe and mankind. They take rice in return of the paintings they show. Hadders has worked on the relation between the *Santhal*s and the *Jadopatias* and has also said about the effects of urbanization which the *Jadopatias* are facing. Mathur (2001) has dealt with all the aspect of *Santhal* tribe starting right from *Santhal* concept of womb and seed, man and animal relationship, the concept of food, *Santhal* approach to sounds, formation of *Ol Chiki*[18] script and process of its transmission, its language and culture, to Jadupatias in the context of *Santhal* culture and lastly *Santhal* world of supernatural beings. She has combined the works in one book form and made things available in one platform.

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[15] Oraon is the third populated tribe of Jharkhand but this tribe belong to Dravidian language family. It is not a part of Austroasiatic language family.

[16] Ho is among the five major tribe of Jharkhand and its population is less in comparison to other major tribes of the state.

[17] Sing Bonga deity of Santhal tribe. He was the creator of the universe.

[18] It is a Santhal script created in 1925 by Raghunath Murmu (a blessed man).

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Some major work done on *Munda*, one of the major tribes of *Jharkhand* are on its language, culture, custom and tradition. One of the prominent books, *Encyclopedia Mundarica* (16 volumes), states that according to the General, Anthropological Survey of India, the *Munda*s are one of the oldest settlers in India, with their concentration in the area of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. This encyclopaedia explains all the characteristics of their language, poetry, music and dances, dwelling, furniture, medicinal and poisonous plans with their *Munda*ri names. Singh's (1992) book is the tale of the *Munda*s comprehension of their own reality, their innovation with iron, and their relationship with the *Asur*[19] tribe. The epic is natural for their social framework and character. The harmonious relationship of man and environment is restored in *Munda* social framework.

The folklore of *Oraon*s was collected by Roy (1928), Hann and Archer (1934-37). Dhan (1972) attempted to analyze the poetry in *Oraon* songs. Similarly, *Jokha in Kurukh Kathya-Khiri Ara Dandi*[20] has collected tales and songs in *Kurukh*[21] language but scripted in *Devanagri*[22]. The folktales of *Oraon* collected by F. Hahn of the G.E.L. Mission A. Grignard edited Hahn's collection of Folktales and published them with a long introduction. Hahn collected these tales through the medium of indigenous *Kurukh* language and in different volume, the original texts of the religious myths are given. Taken on the whole, Grignard's collection of *Oraon* folktales records most of the significant folktales of the *Oraon*, and brings to light the cultural elements which are reflected in them. (Vidyarthi 1978, 391)

There have been attempts to collect the folktales of the *Ho* tribe of *Singbhum*[23], which belongs to the Mundari Linguistic group. Among the earlier scholars' special mention may be made of Haldar (1916–1917) who had intimate knowledge of the tribes of Jharkhand, in general, and *Singbhum* in particular, and published 30 *Ho* folktales. Mitra (1926) also published a *Ho* folktale which deals with the wicked *Ho* queen of *Singbhum.* In another article (1928 b), he follows up the study of this folktale with a comparative analysis involving a similar Santali tale from Bompas's (1909) collection. This comparison reflects the prevalence of similar types of folktales in tribes living in two different areas but belonging to the same linguistics group. (Dundes, Alan. 2011, 238)

Creanza, Kolodny and Feldman (2017) noted the "core concepts in cultural evolutionary theory as they pertain to the extension of biology through culture, focusing on cultural evolutionary applications in population genetics, ecology, and demography". Richland (2013) discusses about Tribal culture losing their original language, prayers, dances, ceremonies, herbal medicines, religious beliefs, arts, clans and method of farming and hunting. The paper argues about the relation

[19] Asur is also an indigenous tribe of Jharkhand.

[20] It is a name of a book which have Oraon tales and songs.

[21] Kurukh is a language of Oraon tribe. It is a Dravidian language.

[22] Devanagri is a script of Hindi language in India.

[23] The Jharkhand state is also known as Singbhum in vernacular language.

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between tribal culture and economic development. Pal (2015) talks about the new approach or perspective to see culture. It discusses about the holistic approach to chart the trajectory of culture, it speaks about how on one hand the approach is nourished by age-old tradition and good old education and on the other hand inflected with commence and capitalism.

KHARIA TRIBE

The primitive aborigines of India contain variety of tribes, which shows its richness. *Kharia*, being an indigenous group falls in 'Australoid' group but distinctly resembles Mongoloid. The language spoken by them is also known as *Kharia*. Their folk songs are fully informative about their past dynamic life. The folksongs itself indicate their way towards Chotanagpur. *Kharia*s are found in Jharkhand (Ranchi, Gumla, Singhbum and Simdega district), Orissa[24] (Birmitrapur, Sundargarh, Puri, Jhunmur and Mayurbhanj district), West Bengal[25] (Mednipur) and Assam[26]. Rislay divides six types of *Kharia*s but actually it is parted into three; *Dudh Kharia*s[27], *Delki Kharia*s and *Pahari Kharia*s or *Hill Kharia*s. The origin of *Kharia* language is based upon the nature. It is the combination of Root theory, imitative theory, interjectional theory and evolution theory which derives from the sound of nature, animals, birds clashing of trees and after all the outcome of human feelings. The social behavior was also injected practically at their expression. Gradually, the sounds develop as speech and other grammatical forms, which show their intimate union with the nature. For them, nature became the mother of *Kharia* language and literature.

Dalton, Hunter, Baal, Rishlay, Hisalan, Grierson started writing in *Kharia* language firstly. A foreign writer Baal (1880) wrote about Hill *Kharia*s in his book *Jungle Life in India*. Cardon (1903) wrote a book *The Kharias and Their Customs,* which covers the anthropological view of *Kharia*. Pinnow (1965) a German scholar used Roman script to articulate the sound symbols for the expression of thought in *Kharia Text Prose and poetry*. Ray & Ray (1937) published a book named *The Kharias*. Bidyarthi & Upadyaya (1980) wrote *The Kharias Then and Now*. Doongdoong (1981) published *The Kharias of Chotanagpur*.

ANALYSIS OF THE KHARIA TALES

Folktales always help to know and understand nature, history, religion, social and cultural aspects of any tribe. They are often told as lessons about life, situations, good and bad values about life. *Kharia* folktales help to understand the

[24] Orissa is also an eastern state on the Bay of Bengal, India, known for its tribal culture and ancient Hindu temples.

[25] West Bengal too is an eastern Indian state, between the Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal.

[26] Assam is a state in northeastern India.

[27] It is a type of Kharia tribe. Kharia tribe was initially divided into three parts; Dudh Kharia, Delki Kharia and Pahari Kharia (Dungdung, 1999)

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way of living of the tribe. Folktales of the people are strongly related to their social realities and traditional practices. Familiarity with the people's socio- cultural life will help to understand the folktales of the people. To begin with, folktales play important roles by reflecting cultural norms, social institutions, oral traditions, values and ideas of a society in which they currently live and experienced in the past. People use folktales for entertainment since time immemorial. Not only for entertainment, they also use them to praise good manners and condemn ill manners in the culture of *Kharia*. Suffice to state that every folktale has something to instruct, be it code of conduct, history and social values of the People.

The folktales are collected by different elderly people of the community. Some of them are Lodro Kharia, Tana Bhagat, Baghema Palkot. Some tales are collected by a very renowned person of *Kharia* community named Shri Ignesh Soreng aged 70. Few tales by Dudu Bhagat brother of Lodro Bhagat, he was an acknowledged person. According to Dungdung: *Kharia* folktales are divided into four parts and they vary according to its subject such as Natural Folktales (Tales on Nature), Historical Folktales (Historical Tales), Religious Folktales (Religious Tales) and Social and Cultural Folktales (Tales Depicting Society and Culture of the Community). Analysis is based on the Natural folktales as the focus of the paper is on the origin tales.

Prithwi[28] *Ki Shristi* (Creation of the Earth)

Initially there was only water in the universe. *Ponomosor*[29], (the deity) used to live in the water. They did not like the deserted place so they thought to create Earth before the creation of humans. *Ponomosor* churned the water. By churning the water, it became like yogurt. And by churning the yogurt *Ponomosor* made *ghee*[30] out of it. They cooked ghee and kept it in the pitcher and let the pitcher in water. After that, *Ponomosor* made a water pig. He said to the pig 'Enter the water and take out the *chapati*[31] made of *ghee*.' The swine entered the water and threw the chapatti above, from the teeth. *Ponomosor* divided it into seven pieces and these were the sub-divisions of the water bodies. *Ponomosor* knock one part (which is knocked into the hull) on the Earth. This caused some part of the land to rise above. The raised part of the land is called mountain. On Ghee chapati, *Ponomosor* produced various organisms. First of all, he created an Earthworm. On eating ghee chapati earthworm started to excrete. The bigger part of the throttle upstream became a small hill. Then *Ponomosor* created a crab. He ordered her to hunt for the Earth. The crab entered the water and threw the earth over the water so hardly that the Earth split into two pieces. The second piece is what we call moon

[28] Prithwi means Earth. (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*)

[29] Ponomosor is the Kharia deity, he is the creator and instructor of the whole human race.

[30] An Indian form of butter made from curd.

[31] Chapatti is an unleavened flatbread. It originated in Indian subcontinent and is a staple food of India.

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and the second part is Earth as said by *Ponomosor* 'I have found the Earth'. Earth was still filled with water all around. To make it dry, he formed sun, stars and other planets. After this, *Ponomosor* also made grass, tree plantation and various other living organisms. *Ponomosor* handled the wind in the water and managed the Earth.

Analysis: This story gives the reader a glimpse of how *Ponomosor* (*Kharia* God) created Earth and made living possible on this planet. Similarly, it tells the fact that the universe was a deserted place and had water all around it. To live in he started growing plants, trees, grass and made other living organisms. Through this tale we come to know about the myths regarding the creation of Earth and the concept of another living organism in *Kharia* tribe. The myth regarding the evolution of Earth as described in the tale is still followed by the community. The assumption of the creation of Earth from water is prevalent in Hindu mythology also, a very famous myth of Hindu's is that Earth is placed above the sea on the head of a seven faced snake and when the snake moves then the natural calamity like earthquake occurs. In *Kharia* also Earth is formed above the sea but the values and beliefs of its formation differs with difference in the artifacts. Here artifacts are the surrounding and setting of the tales and the use of different sea animals used to create the planet Earth. The story of earthworm is prevalent in all the major tribes of Jharkhand like *Munda* and *Ho* with few resemblances and variance. This story gives the first glance of the universe and its formation.

Manushya[32] *ki Shrishti*[33] (Creation of Human)

Ponomosor composed a feathered horse. The horse could fly in the air. *Ponomosor* made statues of two humans and put them in the sun for drying. The horse used to fly and crush the statues under his feet. This happened for next three days and it made *Ponomosor* very angry. He made a hinge of thorns and rode himself. He made the horse ran a lot and soon the horse became tired and fat-bitten. He began to foil foam and died. There after *Ponomosor* again made two statues of a man and a woman. Those idols were kept in the potholes of the *banyan* tree. The milk of the *banyan* tree drip on the statues and the statues became alive. After being alive they grew up and came out of the potholes of the tree. They started to settle down in the surface of the mountains. They were alive on the fruits of forest. *Ponomosor* gave them the blessing of childbirth. In a few days, their offspring grew in many numbers and the food became scarce. He requested *Ponomosor* to supply them ample food to feed their offspring.

Analysis: This story throws light on how humans were created and how *Ponomosor* imbibed life in the statues. The banyan tree is always considered sacred in tribal community. The tree is worshipped in their community. Through the story it is clear that since ancient time *Kharias* were dependent on forest and were relied

[32] Manushya is a hindi term for human.

[33] Shrishti means creation of the universe. (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*)

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upon forests fruits. The story also resembles the Christian theology of God himself imbibing life to human souls just like *Kharia* deity imbibed life in the human pair. The assumptions are always common in some ways and its similar to some culture of the world, here the belief of imbibing life to human soul is an example of such assumptions. Another universal assumption is the dependence of human life on the flora and fauna which is depicted in all the cultures. Similarly, *Kharia* tribe largely depend on the forest. It is also observed in the community that the *Kharias* dwelled around the surface of the mountains since their advent. The Hill *Kharias* are often found settled in the foot of the mountain. The tale also highlighted the origin of horse and its destructive nature, this characteristic of horse is also seen in the society, it is observed that horses are aggressive in nature and they are sign of destruction. This same nature of horse is portrayed in this story as one can see how horse destroys the human statue made by *Ponomosor*. In order to control the horse, the *Ponomosor* made the horse die. Horse is symbolic and it signifies many things such as its destructive nature and it also show that creation of human life was not an easy task for the God as well because there was lots of hindrance which stops the evolution of human race. The story also paints the picture of child birth and the increasing population of humans. Due to the increased population the scarcity of food is also felt. Through this story the *Kharia* tribe comes to know about their origin, their dwelling and how they started their livelihood. This tale itself is symbolic as it depicts the present-day problem of scarcity of food and water in comparison to increased population. The narrative epitomizes the problem of population and the lack of staple food which is pertinent in this contemporary world as well.

Kutton[34] *ki Shrishti* (Creation of Dogs)

To protect human sculptures, *Ponomosor* made two dogs named as *Chavra-Bhavra*[35]. He hid them in *akvan*[36] plants. When the dogs started barking, then *Ponomosor* would know that the horse is coming. To kill the horse, *Ponomosor* gave dogs a sword and positioned them to be ready to attack the horse. On the second day as soon as the horse came, the dogs barked and they cut the wings of the horse with the sword. The horse was unable to fly since then. They started to walk on the Earth and became a human rider.

Analysis: This story reflects the evolution of dogs named as *Chaura-Bhaura*, *Ponomosor* created them and hide them behind *akvan* (wild plant found in the surrounding of humans) plant. This myth of the creation of dog is even prevalent in the *Munda* and *Ho* tribe as well. This is the basic supposition which revolves around these tribe regarding the creation of Dog. The dogs were instructed to bark as they will see the horse (and this became the sign of alertness for *Ponomosor*)

[34] It means dogs, the word is in plural form.

[35] Name of a dog used in the tale.

[36] A poisonous wild plant, grows in Indian sub-continent. Scientific name: Calotropis Gigantea.

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coming. Later in order to kill the horses *Ponomosor* gave sword to the dogs and they used the sword and cut the wings of the horses. They were unable to fly and started staying on the surface and helped human beings to roam on their back. From this story one comes to know that the horses used to fly when they evolved. But because of its destructive nature the deity punished them and made them move on land. The artifacts like horse and dogs are example of their existence since the primitive ages. The tales are describing them which shows their significance in present time also. Dogs are always considered loyal for the human race. This also reflects that there is always one supreme power who prevent us from crossing our limits and it's still believed in this present world.

Pakshiyon ki Uttpatti[37] (Evolution of Birds)

Ponomosor sent a terrible storm so that the leaves from the trees blew up in the sky. These leaves turned into birds in their own shape. Big leaves became eagle, storks etc. Small leaves pigeon, parrot, *mynah*[38] etc. were made. Human being started to kill and eat them. Big birds also used to kill the small birds and eat them. As a result, there was lack of food for the humans again.

Analysis: According to the story, *Ponomosor* the *Kharia* God turned the leaves into birds; the small leaves were turned into small birds and the large leaves turned into large birds. The leaves turned into birds with the help of the strong wind which was blown by *Ponomosor*. The leaves with the help of wind blew high in the sky and while moving it turned into birds. The formation of birds in *Kharia* tribe is a unique feature which is seen in the tale. As soon as the birds were created human beings started to kill and eat them. The nature of cruelty has been observed since the primitive era that the strong will always harm the weaker in the same way the large birds started to kill and eat small birds. This is again a general assumption which is seen in the tale. This shows the similar pattern of behavior in all human nature. The social message is again conveyed through this story that the weaker ones are always been exploited by the powerful group of beings.

Manushyon ka Vinash[39] (Destruction of Humans)

Meat-eater birds began to tease *Ponomosor*. They started demanding more meat from *Ponomosor*. Humans also became flesh eaters and started destroying fruitful trees. *Ponomosor* became unhappy with this. He decided to eradicate humans from the Earth.

Analysis: Through this tale also we get a social message of wants, wants never end and it keeps on increasing. The same happened with the Humans of Earth and they made *Ponomosor* angry. Here it is said that because of the greedy nature of humans *Ponomosor* decided to finish humans on Earth. The worldwide

[37] Means origin (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*). Here it means the origin of birds.
[38] A native bird of Asia. Its scientific name: Acridotheres tristis.
[39] Vinash means destruction. (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*)

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fact of human destruction has been proved in this tale that when God creates, he has all the rights to destruct its own creation. The belief of Human destruction is common in all the culture in the world and *Kharia* tribe also follow the similar myth. Here the supreme power of deity is also seen and it also says that whenever Humans will break all their rules they will be perished.

Jalpralaye (Deluge)

Ponomosor send a gruesome deluge to destroy mankind, the birds flew into the sky, but the humans drowned in the flood. Few people were smart, who covered themselves under some shelter. They mounted on mountains and protect their lives. After eight days the water was reduced and slowly the land was visible. The land started drying and everything came into life. Some human beings escaped.

Analysis: Due to the intolerable nature of the Humans *Ponomosor* decided to demolish the Human race so he brought heavy rainfall to submerge the whole race. Birds flew up in the sky and spared themselves from being drowned. Selected human beings climbed up on the mountains to save their lives. Through this way *Ponomosor* tried to punish the humans for not abiding the rules of nature. According to the story there is a belief that *Ponomosor* first destroy human race by bringing flood but it was not fully destroyed, but due to the intolerable behavior of the people he again tried to destruct the universe with fire. There are similar myths in Hindu Mythology, where the Kingdom of *Lord Krishna*[40] got submerged into water. The Mohenjodaro one of the largest cities of Harrapan civilization also got submerged in water.

Agni Varsha (Fire Rain)

Later on, humans again made *Ponomosor* angry. This time *Ponomosor* planned to destroy the whole human race from Earth. Since then, *Ponomosor* brings fire rain in every twelve years. Once it is said that *Ponomosor* had brought rain fire for seven consecutive days. The whole human mankind was destroyed from the Earth. Only two lives escaped. They both were brothers and sisters. They both were roaming around to do some household work for their earning. Suddenly *Sambhu Raja*[41] and *Dakai Rani*[42] saw them and hid them. *Sambhu Raja* ordered them – 'Cover your head with a basket.' They covered their head. In this way they both escaped. The birds were not destroyed as they flew into the sky.

Analysis: This story reflects many beliefs of the tribe such as the myth of fire rain which occurs every twelve years to abolish evil from the society. This story

[40] Lord Krishna is a Hindu deity and owned the Kingdom Dwarka (a city in India). His kingdom was submerged in a water catastrophe. He is an incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

[41] Sambhu Raja is the king of Kharia tribe, he is the savior of the human race after the destruction caused by the deity (Ponomosor). He saved humanity. (Dungdung, 1999)

[42] Dakai Rani is the Queen of the Kharia tribe. She helped the king to save the human pair and thus saved humanity to survive. (Dungdung, 1999)

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and the previous story prove the universal culture of evolution and destruction of humankind. The assumptions are similar in all the culture regarding the destruction of human race, in some mythology it is through flood, in some through fire and in some through wars. This myth is carried from one generation to another and is still prevalent in the tribes. But it is also seen that origin and destruction is a cycle after every destruction there is again a formation of new life which this story conveys. In order to destroy the human race, he brought fire rain for seven consecutive days so that the whole human race will be devastated. In this devastation only two human beings escaped they both were brother and sister. They were in search of work and for their survival. They came into contact with famous King and Queen of this tribe; they protected them from being noticed and hid them with a basket. In this way the human race was saved from the grudge of *Ponomosor*.

Manav[43] *ki Khoj*[44] (Discovery of Human)

Seeing the destruction, he has done, *Ponomosor* felt pity. He convened a meeting with his intermediate birds, and sent the birds to see whether humans are alive or not. *Dhechua*[45] – *chowkidar*[46], *Kauwa*[47]– *bhandari*[48], *Kuhu*[49] – *Kotwar*[50], and *Lipi*[51] bird came out to search for human in different directions. On returning they used to give details of the tasks performed on each day. Fifteen days passed; there was no clue of any human. Later on, *Ponomosor* saw that the health of the *dhechua* and *Lipi* is gradually falling but the health of the crow is improving. The form and color of the crow is improving day by day. *Ponomosor* is suspected and so he asked crow the reason behind being strong day by day. *Ponomosor* also doubted that the crow was negligent in his duty. He asked loudly – 'You are not doing your work properly?' Crow said – 'I am not violating my duty, it's just that I am not too frustrated in times of failure. *Dhechua* and *Lipi* soon become frustrated.' The fact was that one day the crow went to the place where *Dakai Rani* and *Sambhu Raja* used to reside. There they used to throw fruit peels. The brothers

[43] Manav means "man", humankind. (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*). Here manav means humanity, to save humans from the destruction.

[44] Khoj means "to search". (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*). In this context khoj means to search human and humanity.

[45] A black bird, a sept of Bedia (a tribe of Jharkhand), Oraons and Mundas. (http://indpaedia.com/ind/index.)

[46] Chowkidar means "watchman" (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*). Here the bird was appointed by the deity as a watchman to search human.

[47] It is known as crow; it is a large black bird which makes a loud harsh noise. It is commonly found in Indian sub-continent. (Collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/hindi-english).

[48] Bhandari means "treasurer, keeper" (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*). Crow was assigned by the deity to search for the human race if any life is being saved after destruction.

[49] Kuhu is a name of a bird in Kharia tribe. (Dungdung, 1999.)

[50] Kotwar is a corruption of a word kotwal, which means "keeper of the castle". (Encyclo.co.us English Encyclopedia). It means that deity has assigned all the birds the duty to search human being.

[51] Lipi is also a name of a bird in Kharia tribe. (Dungdung, 1999.)

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and sisters were living by eating it. The crow also uses to go there to eat the fruit peels every day. So, he was becoming healthy day by day. Crow saw that the truth cannot be hidden. He revealed the secret to *Ponomosor*. *Ponomosor* was very happy He ordered the birds to bring the human brother and sister to him.

Analysis: After the destruction the deity felt apologetic and he wanted to know whether any human is left or not. The birds were all safe as they flew away in the sky so *Ponomosor* took help from the birds. This story again paints us the picture of this unique myth of searching the human pair after destruction. One by one through the narratives one can see how the culture differs from community to community despite the universal facts being the similar. The description of the king (*Sambhu raja*) and the queen (*Dakai rani*) is still prevalent in the community. The tribe pay their tribute to them in every important ritual. This story also has moral lesson like decision taken in anger and grudge always leads to destruction and it makes the person repent later on. The clever nature of crow is also revealed as its main characteristic feature. The birds have been assigned duty to keep a watch on the universe which the deity ruined himself.

Pakshiyon Mein Rang Parivartan (Color Change in Birds)

In the beginning, all the birds were white in color. While searching for humans, *Dhechua* sat on the Banyan tree and turned black. *Kuhu* sat on the ground for some time and for some time on the tree so he became black brown in color. *Lipi* kept sitting on the ground, so it became yellow. These birds would return to *Ponomosor* every day and report the daily incidents.

Analysis: This story signifies about the color change in birds it says that initially the birds were white in color but later on according to the environment the birds adapted the color of their surroundings and changed accordingly. This whole story is symbolic it depicts how an individual should adjust and adapt the environment without changing one identity and changes are norms of society which reflects progress. It is not obligatory that all stories depict some myth, some tales are told to the society to teach some moral and ethical teachings.

Sembhu Raja Dakaai Rani aur Ponomosor mein Samjhauta[52]

(MoU between Sembhu Raja Dakkai Rani and *Ponomosor*)

The whole human race turned into ashes in the fire rain. *Ponomosor* sent Crow, *Dhechua*, and *Lipi* in search of a single human left on the planet Earth. Even after trying, they remained unsuccessful. The improving the health of crow brought *Ponomosor* in suspicion, he asked the crow – 'You have seen the human.' Crow replied – 'You have destroyed the whole human race. I feed on the leftover food. I cannot say.' On this *Ponomosor* swore an oath – 'From now onwards I will neither bring fire rain nor destroy the human being.' On taking the pledge, crow

[52] Samjhauta means "settlement, to have a deal or compromise". In this context it is the deal between the king, Queen and deity to save the humanity.

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opened up the secret. He also told that their name is *Jerka*[53] and *Jerky*[54]. Sambhu Raja and Dakai Rani refused to give Jerka and Jerky to *Ponomosor*. On this *Ponomosor*, came to Sambhu Raja and Dakai Rani. He asked for the human pair. Dakai Rani said, 'You created man and destroyed them with fire, and when you felt their need you want them back'. *Ponomosor* said – 'I will never destroy the human race. Take the seven parts of the mankind and I will take only one part.' The seven parts of the whole body is for *Dakai Rani*. One part of the body, Soul is for *Ponomosor*. As long as humans are alive, *Ponomosor* has no right on them.

Analysis: This story gives description of how *Ponomosor* knew about the human pair and promised not to destroy human race from the planet Earth. The story has similar myths, like *Santhals*, *Kharia* people also believe in life after death so, the deal between the king and the queen is that when the human body has life until then it belongs to them but after death the deity shall have the right on the soul. *Kharia* tribe also believe this theology of life like the *Santhal* Christian theology. Soul exists after life is believed by Hinduism, Buddhism and some other religions as well. This assumption also takes the shape of universal culture. This story also portrayed the importance of human race on this planet and their need to sustain on this universe with support of other living creatures like birds and other animals.

Krishi[55] *ki Uttpatti*[56] (Evolution of Agriculture)

A lot of days passed after the fire rains. The fire was extinguished. The Earth was also calm. *Jerka* and *Jerky* were taken out from the marshy land and brought near *Ponomosor*. He was pleased to see them. He called them and said, 'Clean the forest and start farming'. *Ponomosor* gave them all kinds of tools like spade, axe and things related to farming. He ordered them to start farming on the land. From that day, the human pair *Jerka* and *Jerky* started the agricultural work.

Analysis: This story is an illustration of evolution of agriculture, *Ponomosor* taught them to clear forest and make lands for farming. He provided them with all sorts of tools for like spade, axe and other things for agriculture. Human pair learnt the art of farming since the primitive era. This story gives us glimpse of farming and agriculture which is still practiced in our society and will always exist. The story is also an example to illustrate that these tales are the source of learning of such practices which is followed from archaic times. The artifacts in the form of these farming tools are instances that proof; after the evolution of humans the deity

[53] Jerka is the male person saved after the destruction, he is called the first man of the human race. They are also worshipped and considered sacred and symbolic for all the growth and development in the human kind. (Dungdung, 1999)

[54] Jerky is the female saved after the demolition; she is the first woman of the human race. (Dungdung, 1999).

[55] Krishi means "agriculture". (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*)

[56] Uttapatti means "origin, evolution". (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*) Here it means the evolution of agriculture.

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has showed them the path of their living and made their life easy to survive. Owing to this fact the *Kharia* tribe believe that *Ponomosor* their deity is always with them guiding them through all their hardships. They believe that the deity resides in their house protecting them from all the evils.

Beejo[57] *ki Rachna*[58] (Formation of Seeds)

Ponomosor gave pumpkin seed to human pair. He ordered them to plant them. They planted the seeds; and watered them. The plant grew and started to flourish. Once the Pumpkin was rotten, *Ponomosor* ordered to break the fruit. As he cut the fruit, he saw various kinds of seed inside it. According to the second story - after breaking the fruit, they broke it and slammed it on the ground. The pumpkin got torn apart and the seeds sprouted and the seeds were of various varieties. Such as paddy, wheat, Green Gram, cauliflower, *mudua* (millet or ragi) etc... It is said that various types of seeds produced in the world are made from pumpkin.

Analysis: According to the story the main vegetation started with Pumpkin. It is considered as the most sacred vegetable and is often used to offer in festivals as sacrifice in place of any animal. It is considered sacred not only in *Kharia* tribe but also in Hindu communities. In this present day too, this vegetable is considered very sacred and is used in place of animal to sacrifice in front of the deity. This story also signifies the myths of many different seeds coming out from the big pumpkin and different kind of vegetation started with pumpkin itself. This is a special myth that prevails in *Kharia* community that the vegetation started from pumpkin.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The myths in every stage depicts creation, destruction and recreation of human race on this planet. As the narration proceed from one to another it helps us to unbound more about human nature and its sustenance in this world. The factors like the setting, characters, events and narration are the building stones to emancipate these tales. They acted as symbols and patterns to unfold, the context of these narratives. Through the narration of the tales one has untied, various ways of existence of humans as well as other living organisms. It has also helped to unfurl the different tradition and culture of the tribe which is manifested in the tales.

The *Kharia* tribe still believe that *Ponomosor* has created this universe and mankind. He also created living creatures and countless trees and plants. The relationship of plants, animals and human life are all interconnected. There are many symbolic elements which is relevant in the present condition. The concept of making Earth step by step is like Christian concept of Genesis. The pumpkin from which a variety of crops emerge is symbolic of the mother womb. Horse is a

[57] Beejon means "seeds". (Verma, S.K. *Oxford Hindi English Dictionary*) The word is in plural form.
[58] Rachna means "formation, evolution". (Verma, S.K. *Oxford...*)

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symbol of animosity in human development, while dog is the protector of mankind. Water and fire are symbols of destruction. The entire set of tales discussed in this paper reflected the life cycle of the *Kharia* community, its creation, destruction and recreation. *Sambhu Raja* and *Dakai Rani* is God-Goddess of *Kharia* tribe. They are the protector of human race. 'Leech' and 'crab' are symbols of animal life on which the universe depends, they have proved to be helpful in the development of mankind. The description of birds acts as characters which shows the different shades of human being surviving on this planet. These tales are symbolic it represents the entire society and their community right from the universe to first pair of humans to flora and fauna to destruction and rebound of the humans.

Suitable myths include 'creation of Earth', 'creation story of man' and other such stories include the story of creation of power after zero. In these, the story of the development of wholeness from one part is also reflected. These myths are characteristic of the reconstruction of the entire human body from one part of the human body or from the bone remains. The myths explain about the beginning of the world to the deluge, the saving of humanity from total destruction. God's solace, the means of living, the imbibing of agricultural knowledge, and above all the Lord, *Ponomosor* compassion for humanity. This is indicative of existentialism and rebirth theory and philosophy of *Kharia* society.

In these myths, the phenomenon of bringing order, by eradicating social, cultural and physical, etc., has spontaneously sprouted in the 'Deluge'. By eliminating the devilish tendencies and materialism of the devils, *Ponomosor* made the society and the society self-contained and orderly. The same fact is also depicted in the myth titled *Agni Varsha* (Fire-rain).

'Fire-rain' expresses the timeliness of an actual event. This is the second form of the mythological phenomenon 'water catastrophe' in which creation after destruction proves the timeliness of destruction after creation. Thus, in the *Kharia* myths, the occurrence of a particular time is littered with all-time effect.

The present condition of the tribes residing in villages are very heart wrenching, they are not aware of things around the country. They are hardly able to earn two meals for a day. Though they don't like to mingle with other communities but still they are detached from their culture. They don't speak their own language; their language is highly influenced by the neighboring languages like Bengali and Hindi. The cultural change is eminent in this tribe, through the study of the tales it is obvious that the *Kharia* tribe were pagans, they were nature worshippers. Since the tribe has seen many cultural shifts, it is perceived from the study that they have changed to idolatry worshippers in the present scenario. On our field visit to *Basadera*[59] in *Ghatshila* district, we observed that the *Kharia* community worship Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati. They are highly swayed by the neighboring Hindu religion. The contradictory point is that the *Kharia* tribe lives in isolation

[59] Basadera is a village in Ghatshila district of Jharkhand, India. It is a tribal populated village. I visited this place for my field work.

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and it doesn't want to socialize with other communities but still it is undergoing with immense cultural change. By this their entire concept of religion has changed. In the tales it is seen that the deity has showed them the path of cultivation but the observation of contemporary world is different, they are not dependent on agronomy, rather on wood cutting and honey collection. The reason behind this is that they are highly recessive and are not aware of the present world. The tales also depict that they are forest dwellers, which is still witness as some of them reside near hills and mountains. The village which we visited also lies on the foothills of *Ghatshila* district. The condition of the people who have moved toward the city and have seen urbanization, is completely different. We viewed this in the towns near *Ghatshila,* some portion of the community who moved towards the city are highly developed and educated and have come out from their tribal belief. They are detached from their culture and customs and have adopted the urban culture of survival. Cultural change and urbanization functions in every community which we call as development of the society but with every good thing there are some adverse conditions. This results in loss of culture, tradition and language of the community which is hard truth of any community. *Kharia* tribe also comes under same circumstances and deductions.

CONCLUSION

Oral tradition is a rich source of awareness of social and cultural history, transmitting and strengthening meanings related with moral values. The tales studied here are rich with usual Indian imagery of social standards, qualities, convictions and practices. Folktales act as a social entity comprising the result of social and cultural imaginings as bearer of this social message, the stories offer the sociologists a few structures for observing culture, society and occasions at a specific time and channelize them to the present age. On the off chance that folktales are considered, recounted, and rehashed, it will offer a plenty of data, which supplies moral, social, worldwide, and verifiable points of view about existence in a given culture. The folktales are the best tools especially for these tribal communities to restore their culture, values and beliefs. Tribal community keep their culture alive from these tales, songs and riddles. The theory of George Murdock that every culture has some aspects as an individual entity and as a universal culture is prominent in *Kharia* community. Social significance of the *Kharia* myths represent the initial form of their social life on the one hand, on the other hand decent social order, importance of moral values in social life, power in the regulation of social life (the unseen activities of *Ponomosor*), the festivals of society, marriage, etc., provide a well-organized vision and representation of their development. The tales have helped to identify the myths of creation, destruction and the path of re-creation on this planet. Some tales have moral lessons which helps to shape the community into a living society. The assumptions or beliefs are carried from the ancient era and these tales' acts as an artifact to proof these

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beliefs. But the rich culture of these tribal communities is moving towards urbanization in very rapid pace in the form of cultural shift and is losing the cultural essence of the tribe.

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POLYGYNY IN GHANIAN CULTURE: A TALE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA OF WOMEN IN BENJAMIN KWAKYE'S *THE SUN BY NIGHT*

MONALISHA MANDAL, MD. MOJIBUR RAHMAN

ABSTRACT

Literary works represent and expressively depict the tale of humans' traumas by describing the cynicism of peoples' customs, culture, and mutual differences of perspectives. Likewise, Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* attracts readers' attention towards the cynicism and negative consequences of polygyny prevailing in the culture/society of Ghana, Accra. Kwakye aims to illustrate the traumatic experiences of the female characters that shatter their sense of secured life to show the importance of gender equality in a patriarchal culture. The present study aims to assess the status and scenario of emotional and psychological trauma and its interconnection with wedded women in a family model of the Ghanaian culture, depicted by Benjamin Kwakye in *The Sun by Night*.

Keywords: Polygyny, Ghanaian Culture, Women, Emotional and Psychological Trauma, Benjamin Kwakye, *The Sun by Night*.

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

Culture is significantly related to the types of marriages. The plural form of marriage, polygyny, has always been a significant feature in Ghanaian culture/society. Polygyny is illegal in Ghana, but hardly people are aware of the fact, and restrictions are also not enforced heavily. As a consequence, polygyny is continuing to be a practice in Ghanaian culture, and Ghanaian women continue to suffer from gender discrimination. Polygyny emphasizes the importance of the needs of men while neglecting strategic choices for females. It also causes a conflict of perspectives and interests between women and men. A woman belongs to any culture, never wants to share her man with another woman. The thought of sleeping alone and having her husband in the arms of another kills her. She becomes depressed and traumatized. Emotional abuse is one of the most prevalent forms of abuse of women by their intimate partners, and its damage is severe,

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undermining a woman's sense of worth, agency, and independence. According to a study of *Cascade Behavioral Health* on "Signs & Symptoms of Psychological & Emotional Trauma", emotional and psychological trauma "is damage or injury to the psyche after living through an extremely frightening or distressing event and may result in challenges in functioning or coping normally after the event. While each person who experiences a traumatic event will react differently, many do recover well with a proper support system and do not experience long-term problems. Some people, however, after experiencing a traumatic event will go on to develop challenges directly following the event or within a few months of the event" (*Signs & Symptoms of Psychological & Emotional Trauma* 2020).

Next, according to a study of womenshealth.gov (Office on Women's Health) on *Abuse, trauma, and mental health* of women: "Trauma can affect how you feel about yourself and how you relate to others. Women who have gone through abuse or other trauma have a higher risk of developing a mental health condition, such as depression, anxiety, or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)" (*Abuse, trauma, and mental health* 2018).

In brief, psychological and emotional trauma can be causing distressing situations. It trouble the person with feelings of isolation and numbness. It can also create the situation of struggling with dismayed emotions and anxiety. Psychological or emotional trauma is an unassimilated and depraved situation that shatters the identity of a person. It has been remained consistently existing as a challenge in human society. The perspectives of deprived conditions of individuals in literary works are enough to make the narratives a source of assessment.

Trauma studies came to the fore as an area of cultural research during the early-to-mid-1990s. It investigates how traumatic incidents are portrayed through literary works. Trauma theory helps in comprehending the variety of modes through which traumatic incidents are portrayed in literary and historical texts. According to Geoffrey H. Hartman, "The theory holds that the knowledge of trauma, or the knowledge which comes from that source, is composed of two contradictory elements. One is the traumatic event, registered rather than experienced. It seems to have bypassed perception and consciousness, and falls directly into the psyche. The other is a kind of memory of the event, in the form of a perpetual troping of it by the bypassed or severely split (dissociated) psyche. On the level of poetics, literal and figurative may correspond to these two types of cognition" (Hartman 1995, 537).

Literary works have an empowered language to express the traumatic event and painful conditions of the traumatized mind. Negin Heidarizadeh opines that, "Considerably, literature has influenced in the life of human being. It has an empowered language to display the inner world of man. There is a space for memories, introspection, retrospection, foreshadow, flashback and awful remembrances that are colored by pain, wound and trauma. Now is the time of producing the plot of anxiety in modern world" (Heidarizadeh 2014, 788).

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The representation of psychological trauma in literary works and the aspect of memory in shaping cultural identities are significant characteristics that give the meaning of the concept of trauma studies. The perspective of trauma in literary studies itself is a source of discussion and critique. Trauma studies examine the efficacy of trauma, presents in culture/society and literary pieces by analyzing the cultural and psychological significance. According to Michelle Balaev, trauma novel mainly alludes, "to a work of fiction that conveys profound loss or intense fear on the individual or collective levels. A defining feature of the trauma novel is the transformation of the self-ignited by an external, often terrifying experience, which illuminates the process of coming to terms with the dynamics of memory that inform the new perceptions of the self and world" (Balaev 2008, 150).

In addition, according to Cathy Caruth "it is always the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available. This truth, in its delayed appearance and its belated address, cannot be linked only to what is known, but also to what remains unknown in our very actions and our language" (Caruth 1996, 4)

Likewise, Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* (2006) is a literary account that focuses on the emotional wounds, psychological traumas, anxiety, terrifying experiences, alarming conditions, and suchlike problems of Ghanaian women caused due to polygyny. In brief, Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* attracts readers' attention towards the cynicism and negative consequences of polygyny prevailing in the culture/society of Ghana, Accra. The author aims to illustrate the traumatic experiences of the female characters that shatter their sense of secured life, to show the importance of gender equality in a male-dominated culture. The present study tries to showcase the emotional and psychological trauma portrayed by the author in the novel. The study investigates the sufferings and traumas of women through the individual accounts of the life of the characters, caused due to polygyny. In short, the present study aims to assess the status of emotional and psychological trauma and its interconnection with wedded women in a family model of the Ghanaian culture, depicted by Benjamin Kwakye in *The Sun by Night*, to create awareness about the traumatic impacts of polygyny on the emotional health of women.

Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* mainly deals with the mystery of the murder of a prostitute and the courtroom trial of the protagonist, Koo Manu. Born in 1967, Benjamin Kwakye is a person of intellectual personality with his prizewinning collections of literary works. His collections of writings include novels, short stories, poems, and a trilogy. He is the winner of 1999 and 2006 Commonwealth Writer's Prize for both the novels, *The Clothes of Nakedness* (1998) and *The Sun by Night* (2006). The picture of his prolific writings is visible to his readers through his every published literary work. This 'Ghanaian-born' wordsmith has surprised the readers, especially by his second published and award-winning novel, *The Sun by Night*, with its mysterious criterion. In addition to the

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mystery of the murder of a prostitute as one of the themes of the novel, the novel deals with the psychological and emotional traumatic condition of women caused due to the Ghanaian marriage culture, polygyny.

Scholars observe *The Sun by Night* as a study of post-colonial issues, social context, social milieus and experiences of Ghanaian people also. Palmer argues it as "a truly epic work encompassing the vast span of events and issues in post-colonial Ghana" (Palmer 2006, 127). Palmer also opines that the novel, "covers issues in the immediate pre-and post-independence period, Kwakye's erudite work takes the situation up to the eighties and life in Ghana under the military and autocratic regimes that replaced Ghana's shortlived democratic and pluralistic attempts at democratic rule that succeeded the momentous coup d'etat of 1966. The work is distinguished both by its artistic virtuosity and the depth and thoroughness of its treatment of the issues" (Palmer 2006, 127).

Palmer concludes his essay by stating that in *The Sun by Night* "everything is subsumed in a masterly fashion within the framework of the trial that brings all the characters together and enables the author to explore various aspects of his country's life" (Palmer 2006, 151).

Okyerefo observes that *The Sun by Night* portrays the social issues and realities of the people of Ghana. Okyerefo also observes that the novel is centered on the "structure of social relationships among Ghanaians in the light of the country's socio-political trajectory... *The Sun by Night* portrays the vicissitudes of the day-to-day life of Ghanaians" (Okyerefo 2013, 138). Geosi Gyasi observes it as a mystery riddle. He opines that, "*The Sun by Night* begins like a riddle which seeks to unravel the secrets surrounding the death of an Accra prostitute. Right from the start, from the prologue, readers are presented with a tale and by the end of the novel, it is expected that the reader would have unravelled the mystery surrounding the whole tale" (Gyasi 2012).

Ostensibly, the story starts with the trial case of the protagonist, Koo Manu who is a rich businessman of Accra and is on trial of the murder case of Akwele, a prostitute. Benjamin Kwakye's murder mystery, *The Sun by Night* is a story of scandals that revolves around sexual lust, copulation and dark side of the plural form of marriage only. Scandals that fail to recall persons about the feelings of humanity and generosity of relationships. The riddle of the murder and the story of inhumanity witnessed from the exordium portion which is explained by Nii, the journalist. Nii starts his narration with the courtroom trial of Koo with the statement that it is "A tale of social meanings and political shenanigans, economic strain and spiritual jests. A yarn of death and the smell of scandal and sex; two lawyers (one a former candidate for parliament, the other a lauded prosecutor); a lady of ill repute (and for her, I will reserve further judgement for now, given my own attachments to ne unearthed later); and a businessman and politician" (Kwakye 2006, 3).

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Thus, hide-and-seek, the game of inhumanity and the mystery of the real murderer starts from the journalist's notebook and unblurred in the concluding portion of the story, with the confession of Kubi (the son of the protagonist).

But in actuality, the author presents the court trial as a framework only through which the protagonist explores the multiplicity of issues that the novel has been dealing with and concerned with. The issues are as follows, the reasons behind prostitution, the position of women in a patriarchal culture/society, the culture of Ghana, the plural form of marriage, the issues related to a generation gap, the corruption and insensitivity of the ruling party, post-colonial issues of Ghana, the relationship between father and son, and others. The novel has a universal property and dimension in its attempt to puzzle out the truth and moral conflicts of the human minds. The storyline holds the attention of the readers as suspense drives on the plot to a logical and analytical conclusion. The novel is propertied and rich in influencing the readers and in the manipulation of discourse without any complexity.

The title of the novel and the title of the three books in the novel make readers aware of the facts and possibilities that the author intends to explore the mysterious surroundings and settings. *The Abused Road* is an account of the life and narration of Ama Badu, one of the jury members of the court trial. She lived a dual standard life. She continuously struggles with her emotions and feelings of double personality. It is the story of the struggle of her choice between the life of a reputed juror and the life of a scandalized prostitute. *The Eclipse of Mother* is an account of *The Defendant*, Koo Manu and the *The Witness-In-Chief*, Akua Nsiah. It deals and competes with issues such as post-colonial Ghana, social contexts, cultural contexts, problems of plural marriage, the position of women in a patriarchal culture/society, emotional trauma, lack of trust in the relationships, and the like. *The Rain of Snow* is an account of the life of *The Counsellors* of the Koo Manu's court case. It is the story of John Amoah who is the prosecutor and Ekow Dadzie who is the defense lawyer in Koo's case. And, in the Epilogue the mystery of the real murderer is revealed. Kubi confesses before Koo that he had murdered the prostitute, Akwele Oddoi. Koo is tormented to know that his son, Kubi had murdered the prostitute. The novel concludes with the news "Kubi Manu has been arrested" (Kwakye 2006, 303) by the police.

The author concludes the novel by revealing the real murderer of the prostitute. But, he also depicts a traumatic situation at the conclusion because this news, "Kubi Manu has been arrested for the murder of Akwele Oddoi" (Kwakye 2006, 303) is an unexpected trauma for Koo, his first wife, Akua and the rest of the family members. Except for this traumatic event, Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* deals with many other incidents and events that are related to humans' emotional and psychological traumas. Women's traumatized condition for primitive marriage customs, polygyny, in the novel is one of the important and noticeable events among other cultural, social and political milieus.

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POLYGYNY – TALE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA OF WOMEN OF GHANAIAN CULTURE IN BENJAMIN KWAKYE'S *THE SUN BY NIGHT*

When traumatic events happen, humans take a while to get over that pain. Trauma makes humans experienced an adverse and stressful situation in life. It also makes the traumatized person feel helpless, disconnected, numb, and purposeless. Trauma also damages both the mind and the body of humans. Trauma has always been prevalent in literary works that tell about the hapless and numb conditions of individuals. In like manner, Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* not only attracts readers' attention towards the dark side of polygyny or the plural form of marriage and its hapless impact on the emotional health of Ghanaian women. It also helps to discover a sense of realization and duty towards liberation and coequality.

One of the accepted forms of polygamy marriage is polygyny, which includes or entailing the marriage/conjugality of a man with several women at a time. According to Gebremeskel Hailu Tesfay, "the wider and technical understanding of polygamy within which the ideas of 'polyandry' (a woman having more than one husband), and 'polygyny' (a man having more than one wife) are incorporated. As a general term, therefore, polygamy includes the practices of 'polyandry' and 'polygyny'. The second understanding given to polygamy comes from the common usage where polygamy connotes the simultaneous or successive union of a man to multiple women or a practice or custom of having more than one wife at a time. This definition represents the practice of 'polygyny'" (Tesfay 2017, 92–93).

Polygyny is practiced in various provinces of the world, including some locales of India, parts of Islamic countries, and localities of Sub-Saharan Africa. In Africa, the polygynous marriages are supported by the argument that "polygyny has a positive effect on population growth" (Cook 2007, 232) and "within countries there exist different polygyny regimes, each exhibiting a unique reproductive pattern" (Ezeh 1997, 355). But, it presents a different picture too. Tesfay observes that, "There are two lines of arguments in relation to polygamy. Advocates of multiculturalism argue that different cultures have the right to recognition of their identity and cultural practices including polygamy that are essential to forming their identity. On the other hand, advocates of liberalism contend that polygamy subjugates the rights of women and, hence, needs to be abolished" (Tesfay 2017, 91).

Many controversies are distinctively related to the practices of the plural form of marriage. It affects the women's emotional state of mind, self-satisfaction, self-importance, happiness, and health in the name of culture. According to Rose McDermott and Jonathan Cowden, "For those interested in human rights, the relationship between polygyny and violence against women should be particularly alarming. Indeed, an irony emerges from our analysis: conventional attempts to empower women in polygynous culture can be expected to make matters worse because they will increase the hostility felt by many men

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toward women and the cultural values that advocate for female emancipation" (McDermott and Cowden 2015, 31).

Thom Brooks in his research opines that, "Polygamy should then be forbidden by the state insofar as it fails to treat wives as equals with their husbands, denying women the same rights, liberties, and opportunities available to men. Therefore, polygamy represents an unjustified asymmetry of power between men and women: polygamy should be banned" (Brooks 2009 ,7).

Scholars like, Uggla, Gurmu, and Gibson also discuss that the benefits to women are less evident in comparison to men. Women have to share a husband with other wives (Uggla, Gurmu, and Gibson 2018, 160). In addition, according to Alean Al-Krenawi (2001), the practice of a plural form of marriage leads to irritability and jealousy between family members. It has long been also associating with the mental illness of women and family stress. A greater prepotency of mental traumas like depression, anxiety, personality disorders, and suchlike have been found common in women involved in the plural form of marriages in comparison to monogamous marriages.

Similarly, the novel of the present study deals with the psychological and emotional trauma of female characters who have to share their husband with other women because of polygynous marriage. Emotional and psychological trauma seems to become a nightmare for the women who have to face it in their lives. Throughout the novel of Kwakye, the readers can observe the pains and emotional sufferings of women due to the practices of the plural form of marriage in a patriarchal society/culture. The novel depicts a distinct picture of damage of minds and emotions that occurs in their lives as a result of polygyny, an unexpected traumatic event. Subjective experiences of traumas are different between women, according to their emotional state of mind. For a similar traumatic event, the response varies from one woman to another. In short, not all women who experience an unexpected traumatic event will become emotionally traumatized.

In the context of *The Sun by Night*, the responses of the female characters towards the plural form of marriage are found to be different from each other. While other women have accepted it as their destiny, on the other hand, the narrator's first wife is emotionally traumatized by the feeling of sharing her husband with another wife. The study analyzes the novel in light of the different effects and impacts of polygyny on women, through the story of the protagonist's first wife, grandmother of the protagonist's first wife and protagonist's mother. Polygynous marriages not only make their lives lousy but, creates a distance between the family members too.

The narrator's first wife, Akua Nsiah, is emotionally and psychologically traumatized when she learns that her husband Koo Manu has decided to marry another woman, Ama Owusu. Akua's husband tells her that he wants to marry another woman whom he loved and wanted to get married before their marriage, "You know I love you deeply. I won't do anything to harm you. And I don't want you to be unhappy. I have tried my best to be a good husband. And a good father to

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the children. I have toiled day and night. To provide you with everything you need... I never turn down any request you make. I have looked at other women. But I have never fooled around. Even though they've thrown themselves at me. But, Akua, now you must understand. That I am a man. And sometimes I have feelings. For other women. Last time I went home, I met a woman. I had met her before. My feelings for her were renewed. Now I want to make her my wife. My second wife. And I want your blessing" (Kwakye 2006, 141–142).

Akua is unable to express her feelings of envying, annoyance and desolate which she feels due to the news that Koo wants to marry Ama Owusu, "Akua listened quietly. She didn't show any emotion on her face" (Kwakye 2006, 142). After some moment of silence, Akua questioned her husband, "'Don't I satisfy you?' 'You do! You do! But it's not that.' 'Then what is it? You say you've tried to be a good husband to me and a good father to the children. I know you try. But a good husband isn't someone who gives you food and clothes. A good husband is there for you as well. Both spiritually and emotionally. So how can you expect to be a good husband if you split yourself between two women?" (Kwakye 2006, 142).

Koo never expected such opposition from his wife, Akua. So, Akua's questions put him in an awkward situation and he finds it better to avoid the discussion, "'And, in any case, haven't I, too, been a good wife to you, and a good mother to the children?' 'You have.' 'Am I too old for you, then?' 'No!' 'Then what is it?' I didn't know. Except that I desired Ama Owusu. I dodged her question. 'Sleep over it. Let's talk later'" (Kwakye 2006, 142).

But, Akua found it difficult to accept another woman in her husband's life and the feeling of sharing her matrimonial bed with another woman hurt her a lot. This decision of her husband makes her restless and confused at this stage of her marital life. Koo Manu's decision of practicing polygyny became an unexpected traumatized event for his first wife, Akua. She tries to convince Koo not to practices the polygyny but Koo is not in the mood to change his decision, "I was very hurt when you told me you wanted to marry a second wife. I must admit that to you. Think about it. Put yourself in my position. If you've been married to your husband for over twenty years and had four children with him and then suddenly he tells you he wants to marry another woman, you won't be happy. You will question yourself and wonder what is missing in you that would make him want to marry again" (Kwakye 2006, 142).

Koo's decision of practicing polygyny becomes a nightmare to Akua. She becomes psychologically and emotionally traumatized because she finds her identity status in a questionable condition. She constantly tries to convince her husband to change the decision with the justification that although polygyny is common to their ancestors and they practiced it also but to increase the fertility rate and to get help in their farm work, "I know that it was common with our forebears. But there were practical reasons why they did that. To have more children so they could have extra help on the farm, for example. Or even as a sign of wealth and

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power in the community. But not so nowadays. The number of his wives or the number of his children no longer measures a man. There are new status symbols now. And you have them all" (Kwakye 2006, 142).

Thus, the conversation between Akua and her husband makes the facts clear that in a patriarchal culture/society, there is no space and respect for women's feelings, rights, emotions, decisions, wishes, and hopes. The utterances also make it clear that practicing polygyny put the physical and mental well-being of women in an alarming condition. And people who concern about the mental well-being and rights of women should take steps to stop it practicing where it is being misused by men only to satisfy their manhood.

Koo's decision of marrying another woman not only hurt his first wife but for the children also it becomes an unexpected traumatic event. Koo's decision creates differences between his children. It is difficult for them to accept the father's decision and as a result, Koo has to face their opposition too, "However, I had more challenges a week later. They were already gathered. Seated in the living room. I froze when I walked in. Because they stared at me coldly. I greeted them. I tried to sound cheerful. I smiled. But they didn't smile. So I stopped smiling also. 'Why is everyone so sad?' I asked" (Kwakye 2006, 143).

Although Koo realized that it is for his decision of polygyny that his children are unhappy, this reason is also not enough for him to realize that his decision is a trauma to his family. Except for his first wife, Koo has to face the questions of his children also, for his decision of polygyny, "'Papa', my daughter Akosua began. 'We don't think you should marry that woman'... 'It is, Papa,' said Kubi... 'Papa, you shouldn't do this.' That was my youngest son, Kofi. That surprised me. He hardly said a word against me... My daughter said, 'Why must you do this, Papa? Isn't Ma good enough? You had been married for almost thirty years now. She's been a good wife to you and a good mother to us. Through everything she's been here by your side. Now you want to jeopardize all that and marry another woman. Why? I just don't understand this" (Kwakye 2006, 143-144).

The protagonist, Koo Manu tries to stop his children from opposing his decision to polygyny with justification. He scolds them and instructs them not to interfere, "'These are adult matters. Your mother and I will settle this'" (Kwakye 2006, 144). But, they refuse to accept any kind of justification for Koo's decision of marrying another woman and get angry with him. Koo narrates that Akosua, my daughter put an argument that this practice of plural marriage is a primitive culture and how would I feel if their mother will marry another man, "'This is such a primitive practice, Papa', Akosua almost yelled. 'Primitive? Why is it primitive? You call all the ways of your grandfathers primitive? Don't you have any respect? For the ways of your forefathers?' 'Then I suppose you will have no problems if Ma marries a second husband,' my daughter said. 'What impudence!' 'Why am I being impudent?' 'Shut up!' I snapped. My daughter Akosua shut up. But she was very angry" (Kwakye 2006, 144).

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When Koo does not ready to change his decision on polygyny not only Akousa left the house but, the environment of his house also becomes traumatized, "My decision was final. I would marry Ama Owusu. My children didn't like it. They had said so... I reasoned that they would get used to it. My heart belonged to my wife Akua. But it also belonged to Ama now. They would have to share it. There is no other way. The next day I had more horrors. My daughter Akosua left the house. She was gone by the time we woke up. She had packed her things and left. I contacted the police. They searched for her without results.... My sons were clearly worried. I felt guilty. I knew she left because of my decision. I became very afraid for her safety. And gravely concerned by her protest. Something like an unhealthy silence descended on our house" (Kwakye 2006, 146).

Thus, through every phase of the utterances of the characters, it is observed that practicing polygyny is not only brings differences in relationships but traumatized the mental condition of the family members too. After facing this traumatized condition of his family and even being opposed by his first wife and children, he is sticking to his decision of polygyny and married Ama Owusu. Later he realized the mistake done by him when due to his own decision he has to face lots of problems and unsatisfaction in his life, "Akosua returned three months after she left... I was overjoyed to see her. But I was afraid to ask her questions. She said a mechanical hello. And went o her room. She hardly spoke to me... I was deeply hurt. I had lost the ease with which I could interact with my family. Even my wife. She was more silent now. Perhaps even cold. It seemed some distrust had grown between us all. I spent more and more time with my new wife. I discovered what Mother and Father had mentioned. About her character. She did have a very sharp tongue... I had done damage. I had to repair it. I didn't know how. I hoped and hoped the damage was not permanent" (Kwakye 2006, 154–155).

In short it can be said that, polygyny not only hurts the mental well-being of Koo's family members but, proves painful for his mental piece also. He feels bad for his first wife, Akua and his children now. He is no longer happy and satisfied after betraying his family. The selfish nature of the protagonist as a husband makes the fact clear that as he is not happy and satisfied because of the polygyny implemented by him so he feels bad for his first wife. But, instead of being unsatisfied if he was satisfied with his second wife, then would he feels bad for his first wife? The novel thus through Akua's characterization depicts the picture of the condition of a psychologically and emotionally traumatized woman who feels herself helpless and numb due to the rituals of a selfish patriarchal culture/society. She feels so dejected that finds it better to share her pain and suffering with her grandmother who is dead. Koo's decision not only makes her feel purposeless but, she finds herself unconfident to share her feelings with any living person. It seems that she lost her touch with reality and suffer from hallucinations and thought disorders. Her unusual ways of thinking make her ease and comfortable to share the problems of her marital life with her grandmother who herself is a victim of the plural form of marriage.

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In her hallucination, she started conversion with her grandmother, "Talk to me, my nana Daughter of my daughter Let the oil of your saliva lubricate your words Woman to Woman I want to hear your voice unencumbered Unshackled from its maddening experiences Speak to the depth of your experience Draw from its wells with the spacious bucket of your anguish I want to know It is your voice that offers me light I need for my hind vision" (Kwakye 2006, 157).

Akua requests her grandmother to show her way to get rid of this problem of polygyny. She also requests her grandmother to help her in such a confusing state of life because she wants to know how her grandmother felt when she shared her husband with two other women due to the plural form of marriage. She has requested her grandmother to answer her queries, "Nana, mother of my mother, please hear my call. Or is there a prayer I can make before even you? I know you have joined the ancestral pool, but, Grandmother, how are you treated over there? You, who shared her matrimonial bed with two other women... Nana although you died when I was only thirteen, I don't recall you ever mentioned it. You never complained that grandfather had two other wives. I was puzzled a little even then because I did not understand why father had only one wife and grandfather had three. Nana, please forgive me that I call you for such selfish reasons, but I am hurting. My husband has decided to take a second wife... Ama Owusu" (Kwakye 2006, 157–158).

Akua's conversations with her grandmother reflects her mental agony and disapproval against her husband's decision of polygyny. She wants to protest for her rights but finds herself unprotected and helpless because polygyny is a popular ritual of marriage in Ghanaian culture, practiced by their ancestors also. Akua in her confused state of mind continues her discussion with her grandmother. She tells her grandmother that she feels dejected and worried due to Koo's decision of polygyny, "Nana, how can I live in the same house with her? Have I not kept Koo's house all this time? Was it not I raised the children while he was away making money?... And when Koo himself was ill or needed consoling when he was down, was I not the one who fetched the patience and wisdom of you and mother and gave it to him? Wasn't I struggled to get him released from detention? Is the sharing of my home with another woman the reward? Nana, I make recall you had your own quarters, but still you lived in the household with my two other grandmothers. How did you do it? But I ramble on. I have traveled far on this road. I must reclaim the joys I felt in the journey. I must draw from that so I can stay strong. I cannot tell him how I feel. My words will get lost in the emotion... And, Nana, what if I protest too strongly and he makes a decision to leave me?... What will I do at this stage of my life?" (Kwakye 2006, 158).

Akua's utterances show her unusual mental well-being and it also reflects how her husband's decision of marrying a second wife affects her thinking and behavior. This unexpected traumatic decision of Koo makes her feel disadvantaged and born loser. She shares her painful feelings with her grandmother that when she was maiden her parents forced her to choose marriage instead of education, "when

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Maamie and Papa told me of the proposal. I said no. 'I want to go to university'... Papa said sternly. 'You don't get very many chances like this...' Mammie said... 'Akua, please don't be stubborn'... 'We are doing this for your own good'" (Kwakye 2006, 159). Then after much of the thoughts she agreed to marry Koo instead of continuing her studies and now when she "vow to be a good wife to Koo Manu" (Kwakye 2006, 161), is being forced by her husband to accept another woman. The author thus portrays Akua Nsiah as a sitting duck right from the beginning of the story. The author also portrays the helplessness of a woman in a patriarchal culture/society through Akua's unusual state of mind to clear the fact that how constant dismissal and elimination can affect a person's mind and can also cause depression and thought disorders. Akua after a brief description of her journey from an unmarried girl to a married woman, ask her grandmother to help and suggest her to recover from her emotional and psychological traumatized situation, "So Koo had made the decision to take a second wife. Nana, this was when I needed your help the most. I wanted to call on you for guidance. I wanted you to teach me how to cope. As best as I could make recall, I had three grandmothers on my mother's side. Nana how you do it? Did you not feel betrayed when grandfather married a second and then a third wife? How could you bear to share a husband with other women? It must have taken the greatest act of selflessness. And the grace with which you dit it, Nana, amazed me. I could make no recall of complaints or rancor. I could only recall how well you all got along. But I felt an upheaval in my chest that was so powerful I didn't know what to do" (Kwakye 2006, 168).

Akua's utterances with her grandmother depict the loneliness and powerless position of women where they are not subjected to be a protest model and have no right to oppose their husband's decision of polygyny. Like Koo, her grandfather also practices the plural form of marriage to satisfy his manhood only and not for wealth increasing factors. Her grandmother is also a victim of this ritual, but to live a peaceful life finds it better to accept the husband's decision of polygyny because she has no other option at that phase of her life. Akua and her grandmother discuss a lot on the problems of implementing polygyny by their husbands. Her grandmother then concludes the discussion with the valuable suggestions from the depth of her experience to recover Akua from her emotional and psychological traumatized situation of life. She advises her, "Granddaughter, If you haven't used another road you hesitate to abandon the one you are used to. It is the story of order the natural inertia of humankind, It takes the adventurous to strike out to new roads" (Kwakye 2006, 171).

She also suggests and encourages her granddaughter by suggesting that, "Granddaughter Find the best one for yourself Work with that choice It shall be your sun by night" (Kwakye 2006, 181). In this way, Akua's grandmother concluded the discussion between "woman to woman" (Kwakye 2006, 157) with aspirational words. The author thus, through the utterances and suggestions of

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Akua's grandmother depicts her concealed laments, pains, and sacrifices. Akua's grandmother thus presents the picture of another victim of the plural form of marriage. And her life also, like Akua's, presents the gloominess and dark side of polygyny.

Not only these two women in the novel suffer due to polygyny but, Akua's mother-in-law also has to suffer due to the plural form of marriage culture. Akua's father-in-law also practices polygyny in his life, as a result, her mother-in-law is also a victim of loneliness like Akua and her grandmother. The practice of polygyny makes her condition traumatic because her children do not respect her decision. Her children find her suggestion ironical. When she suggests her son Koo Manu, Akua's husband that, "Love is what you feel after you've married a woman and felt the warmth of her bed, the sweetness of her meals, the comfort of her character. It is not that feeling you get in your manhood. A marriage built on that will not last. But a marriage with foundation is the one where your wife, your husband, has a good character" (Kwakye 2006, 103).

But, for Koo her mother's suggestion on love and marriage is ironical, "It was ironic. Mother's own marriage wasn't a perfect model. She and father were not divorced. But they lived in different homes. Like strangers" (Kwakye 2006, 103) because his father lives with his second mother, Afia. So the advice of his mother forces him to think, "If she knew so much about marriage, why this?" (Kwakye 2006, 103) happens to her. Why? She lives a life of loneliness without her husband even in this phase of her age. Akua's mother-in-law's condition and position in her family present the loneliness, helplessness and deprived condition of a woman because of the implementation of the plural marriage form by her husband. The conversation between mother and son presents the differences and detachment between mother and children. Thus, Kwakye in *The Sun by Night* endeavor to depict reality to hold a mirror to the society. Kwakye tries to put the focus on, how people react to circumstances outside their control. Kwakye also tries to depict the real, bitter and sarcastic picture of psychologically and emotionally traumatized women in a male-controlled culture/society due to polygyny.

CONCLUSION

The study has provided an overview of the plural form of the marriage culture and emotional and psychological trauma of Ghanaian women present in Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night*. The study seeks to figure out differences in the emotional reactions of three women characters present in Kwakye's novel, caused by the traumatic event, polygyny. The dark side and misuse of the plural form of the marriage culture in the novel not only causing psychological and emotional trauma for women but ruined and shattered the peaceful environment of families also. It proves harmful for mental well-being and creates differences between children and spouses. The author presents the helpless and dejected condition of women in a patriarchal culture where men implement polygyny only

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to satisfy their manhood and not for population growth and wealth increasing factors. Thus, the assessment on Benjamin Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* presents the observation that the practice of polygyny has resulted in the violation of the rights, equality, and mental health of Ghanaian women. However, previous studies also support the perception that it has traumatic consequences on women's emotional health. But to date, it is justified and practiced from the religious and cultural point of view, which is awful and traumatic.

The present study through the depressed, unhappy and doleful picture of women, children, and families due to polygyny as presents in Kwakye's *The Sun by Night* not only tries to depict the psychological and emotional trauma of humans but, also tries to develop a sense of awareness towards the rituals of primitive customs. The present study seeks to emphasize that rituals that may prove to be harmful to the psychological well being of women and make them suffer from depression, personality crisis, anxiety and other mental disorders need to be changed for their betterment. The study also suggests questions before the readers whether practicing polygyny is right for the women in a culture/society where men practicing it only to satisfy their manhood and to control the feelings and emotions of their women. And whether practicing polygyny is right if the cost includes women's emotional and psychological traumas. In addition, the study seeks to suggest that significant measures should be designed to educate women and society to create consciousness about the traumatic consequences of polygyny on women's emotional and psychological health and to resist the marriage culture, polygyny.

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PARZUN, HAKKÂRİ PROVINCE WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL BACKPACKS

HASAN BUĞRUL

ABSTRACT

Hakkâri is one of the important centres of sheep breeding and is associated with milk and wool products obtained from sheep. Milk and the products obtained by processing the milk obtained from sheep fed with endemic plants offer great taste. Knitted and woven works made by spun wool obtained from sheep too are admired in terms of their material, decoration and fine workmanship. Weaving made for clothing, carrying, floor covering and many other different purposes is also remarkable in terms of diversity. Although carrying goods on the back is a worldwide tradition, equipment used for carrying goods on back may differ from country to country or even from region to region. For example, while in the Black Sea Region women use baskets for carrying tea on their backs, we see weavings of smaller sizes than sacks with handles on both sides in the Aegean Region. In the Hakkâri region, women's backpacks are woven in a rectangular shape, stitched to a square or close to square and take the shape of a triangle when they are taken on one's back. The research on these women's backpack, which is especially peculiar to the Hakkâri region, is based on an ethnographic work field study covering thirty-two settlements of Hakkâri. This study serves to introduce the "parzun", which is among the weavings of Hakkâri for carrying purposes and which has an important place in the social life, culture and art of the region. The study is also aimed to protect this cultural asset and transfer it to future generations, as well as contributing to scientific studies to be carried out in this field.

Keywords: Hakkâri, ethnography, parzun, backpack, bêrî/bêrîvan.

1. INTRODUCTION

Due to the fact that Hakkâri (Eastern Turkey) stands out with its highlands geographically, it is suitable for sheep breeding; and a good number of the local people earn their living from this. Although the long winter season makes sheep breeding troublesome, the local people continue this with pleasure. Each profession has its advantages as well as its advantages. Families engaged in sheep breeding also enjoy the happiness of making a living with the wool, meat and

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the products such as herby cheese and butter which they get from sheep's milk. Each family member assumes a specific responsibility for sheep breeding and products obtained from sheep. Some mow grass for them and become responsible for feeding them in winter. Some of them herd sheep and graze them in the most beautiful pastures. Others take care of their milking business. In Hakkâri region, usually women milk sheep and cows. After milking sheep and cows, they do a lot of hard work to turn milk into yoghurt, cheese or butter. For example, they make special yeast to make cheese and go to the highlands to collect special herbs to add to cheese. They use tulle to produce butter: They shake yogurt in the tulle for a long time in order to produce butter. Besides, every woman is a craftsperson. With their materials and fine work, the assets they weave and knit for different needs are to be admired.

2. MATERIAL AND METHOD

Within the scope of this study, in addition to the literature review, the researcher conducted a project related to the ethnographic works of Hakkâri. During the field work, photographs of the ethnographic assets were taken, face-to-face interviews were held with the owners of the work and information about the works was elicited using the question – answer method. After that, associated information and the photographs were kept in a computer environment. The photographs and information related to this work of art (*parzun*/woman's backpack) were subsequently separated and presented in detail.

3. BAGS IN WOMEN'S LIVES

Until the recent past, there were almost no hand bags of women in Hakkâri region. There were only backpacks which they used for carrying such as a leather bottle, osier wood or a baby, a lamb etc. on their backs. Women used to wear woven belts (girdle) and they were keeping the things that they needed in their daily life in them. This can be one of the reasons of why women in Hakkâri region haven't had handbags until recently. Today, we can see various types of handbags each of which is used for a special purpose:

"A handbag plays a number of roles in a woman's life. In the earliest stages of passage a young girl carries a small purse with a shoulder strap. It is for style than functionally. Inside you will find a brush and some sweets. By the time she is an adolescent, the purse changes in size to the fancy type. Inside you will find the sunglasses, lipstick and a tiny address book with telephone numbers of all her friends and a change purse. When she is in college, the purse has a wallet inside that holds not only money but photographs of her friends and relatives. No credit card or check book yet. More cosmetics are added to the purse. When she is on her own, the fancy sort of purse slowly begins to change and enlarges in size. Now there is a check book, credit cards, laptop, notebooks, car keys, medicine, tissues and pens" (Critchell, S. 2000; Nyambura and Nyamache, 2012: 26).

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Although traditional assets are made for a special need in the social life, they also reflect a producer's skill and taste besides the values of the society with which the artisan has close relation with. Considering bags come in terms of types and shapes, styles, fabric and colour, they are not just the materials we need in our daily life, but also a part of our culture: "However, handbags reveal a person's personality; People can tell your social status, taste and personality. Whereas the inside of one's bag is supposed to be personal and intimate, the outside is practically a billboard advertising one's place in the world. An inventory of a woman's handbag can reveal her age, a glimpse of her soul and completes her beauty. Not just a fashion statement any more, handbags must be large, sturdy and functional to support the many needs of today's lifestyles. Another revolutionary change is that many women carry more than one bag. This has become a vital necessity" (Roseann, 1999; Nyambura and Nyamache, 2012: 22).

4. BÊR, BÊRÎ AND BÊRÎVAN

Sheep milking is one of the most demanding occupations. However, those who do this job are seen to turn this challenge into an enjoyable pastime. If the sheep milking area (*bêr*) is close, the women who will milk the sheep go on foot, and if it is far, they go on horseback. They joke with each other along the way. On the way back, they return home sharing the different events they encounter while milking the sheep. Thus, the troubles faced during the milking business and in daily life are not discussed; sweet memories always come to the fore.

There are certain rules and an order in the milking business. Sheep are milked in certain places. The area where sheep and goats are collected for milking is called "bêr". However, since pastures are grazed alternately, the milking place may also change accordingly. In this area, certain sitting areas are created for shepherds and women who will milk sheep. First of all, there is a chair-shaped seating arrangement made of stones for the shepherd. In front of him, there is a seat for women who milk sheep mutually and sequentially at a certain distance. Women with the most sheep have the right of sitting closest to the shepherd. The shepherd helps the two women sitting closest to him (on the right and on the left hand side) in milking sheep by holding the sheep and goats by their heads. Thus, women with a lot of sheep, with the help of the shepherd, finish milking sheep with the other women (with fewer sheep) at the same time.

A person who performs milking sheep in Hakkâri region is called "bêrî" (Fig. 1). However, in places other than Hakkâri, the name "bêrîvan" is common. Sheep and goats mean everything for a "bêrî". She takes care of their health and also knows how much milk she gets from each sheep and goat. When milk yield drops, she asks the reason to the shepherd. When a sheep or goat is missing and she notices immediately and notifies the shepherd. She is so engaged with sheep that when one of them is sick or lost, she feels sorry for them, even tears.

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Figure 1: "Bêrî/ bêrîvan" milking sheep. Çığlı Village, Çukurca

Bêrî is not only interested in milking sheep. She processes the milk she brings home and presents it as yoghurt, cheese and butter to family members and guests. However, these operations are not easy to do. Brushwood is needed to boil milk on the fireplace. It is necessary to pick up different herbs to make the cheese more delicious. In this context, collecting the herbs used in cheese in the highlands is an exertion in itself and also an entertainment. Especially when a lot of women go together, the pleasant time spent together in the fascinating field is never forgotten. Here, all the troubles in this exertion can be made enjoyable with such opportunities and life can be taken in a pleasurable direction. However, as a result of the migration of the majority of the young population to cities, there are difficulties in finding women to milk sheep today. Our self-sacrificing mothers somehow continue to do this.

5. PARZUN

Parzun, the backpack of women (bêrî/bêrîvan) milking sheep, is not only an element used in carrying milk on the back, but also a work of art with its material, decoration and fine workmanship. Women who go to milking together are both sincere friends and rivals. There is always a sweet rivalry between them in many issues such as milking sheep, weaving, knitting, cooking, baking, walking faster, riding, singing, etc. In this context, women who go milking show all their skills in order to have the best and the most remarkable of the backpacks, called *parzun* (Fig. 2–3–4). While Hakkâri region women's parzun show a great similarity in shape, they differ in function and decoration. On the other hand, we can see that such woven assets are not encountered in other regions of Turkey, besides the surrounding districts of Van and Şırnak, which are neighbourhood to Hakkâri province.

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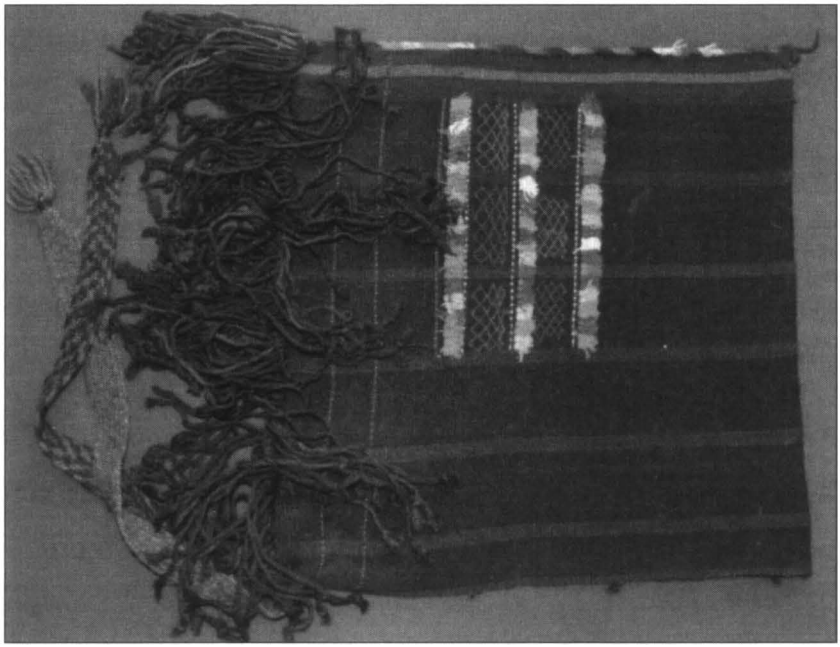

Figure 2: Parzun sewn in a square shape (50x50 cm). On the fabric there are parallel stripes, embossed wool in different colours and geometric decoration consisting of rhombuses. From the collection of Hasan Buğrul

The main function of parzun is using it in carrying a leather bottle (tulum) which is filled with milk. For this reason, especially in the town of Yüksekova, Büyükçiftlik, this asset is called "şîrkêşk" (milk carrier). On the other hand, it is used for carrying babies on the back, as well as items such as beet and osier wood. Although parzun is a women's backpack, it is used by men to throw the seed wheat in the field. However, men never take them on their backs. They tie rope handles/broad belts and shoulder them on the left/right. They take out the wheat with their right/left hand and sprinkle it on the field.

Parzun is woven on the floor loom and woollen yarn obtained from natural dyes are used in weaving. Parzun is woven in a rectangular shape and it is stitched in a square or almost square shape, but it is used in the shape of a triangle. After the sewing of the parzun is completed, rope handles are attached to both sides. Besides being durable enough to carry heavy loads, they are so soft that will not hurt the shoulders. For this, rope handles are knitted to be wide and soft.

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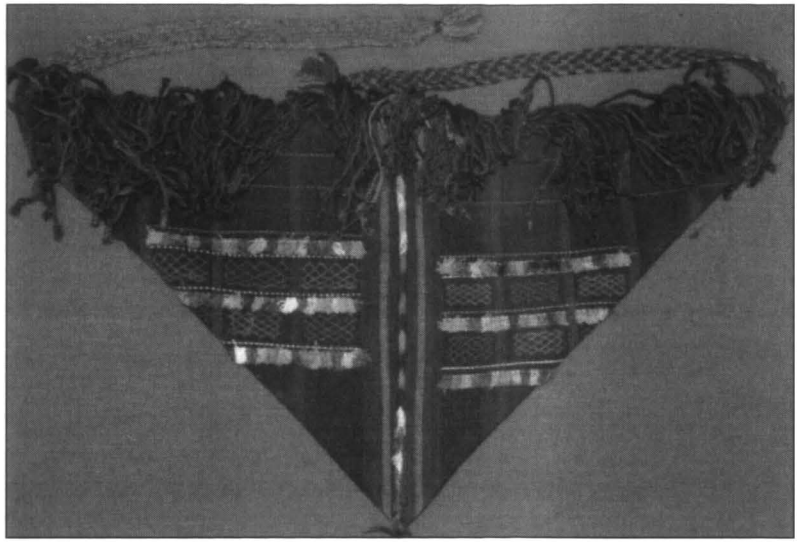

Figure 3: When opened in the form of a triangle, it is 100 cm in width and 50 cm in length. The outer surface of the parzun is rich in decoration. Tassels and fringes are also important elements of the decoration. From the collection of Hasan Buğrul

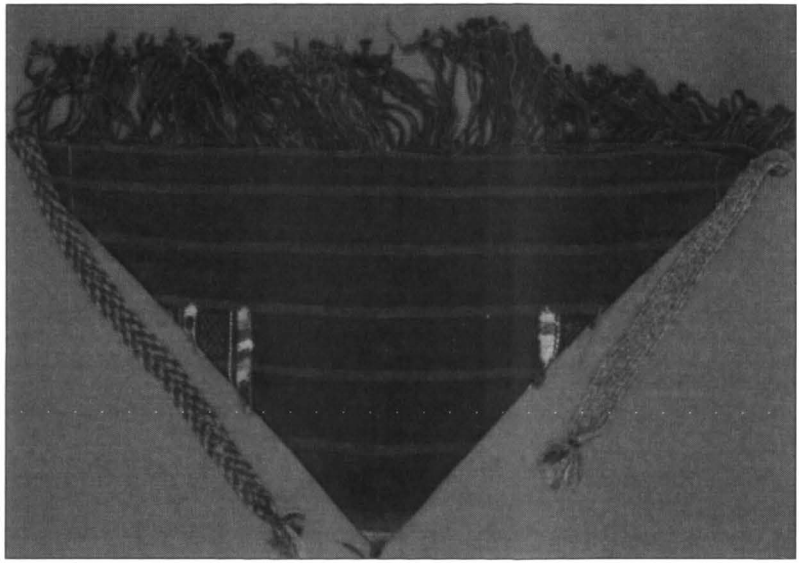

Figure 4: The side put on the back. From the collection of Hasan Buğrul

Although the parzun has different functions, it is mainly used for carrying the leather bottle (tulum) (Fig.8), filled with milk. First, milk is put into the leather bottle and then the leather bottle is put into the parzun. After that by holding the rope handles both on the left and the right, it is taken on one's back. The rope handles are tied from the front so that the piece does not slip (Fig. 5–6). The back side of the parzun is without fringes and it does not have so much decoration as the forefront. The forefront of the parzun has a fascinating look with its long tassels and fringes besides the patterns. Thus, the woman who carries this bag (parzun) on her back shows herself with her handicraft skills. Parzun is mostly found in the districts of Hakkâri and neighbourhood districts of Van and Şırnak.

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It is also made by placing various tassels on the edges for decoration, a square pattern on the base of the fabric and small pieces of coloured fabric in the form of loops during weaving. This type of tie knot, falling into the group of fabrics with pile, terry surface among the Anatolian textiles, is made in the form of a Turkish knot called *gördes*. An ornament, called şırnak rose in the region, is depicted on parzun. In the plateaus in the region, parzun is used to carry items with small weights such as milk leather bottles, osier wood or a baby.

In another research, conducted by Örcün Barışta, related to Parzun weavings; they are reported to be weavings used by people to carry children and loads on their backs and woven by applying rug woven on a hand loom, kilim and rug techniques. When folded, it is 48x47 cm in size. When it is used, in a rectangular form, the base is 90 cm, the height is 47 cm, and the side is 65 cm. The backpack, called parzun and consisting of equilateral triangles of varying sizes and with handles made by various methods at the ends, is distinguished by its form and its ornaments. Among the parzuns, there is a group, decorated with fringes made of wool dyed in various colours on the front face. Another group, has lengths varying between 40 cm and 50 cm and has woollen tassels, are knitted by hand in the form of a sliver of a certain unit, wrapped in silver or gold coloured glitter (Öztürk, 2014: 142–143).

Figure 5–6: Woman, called "bêrî/ bêrîvan", carrying a parzun on her back with a plastic bottle in it and has a bucket on one of her arms for milking sheep and goats. Çığlı Village, Çukurca

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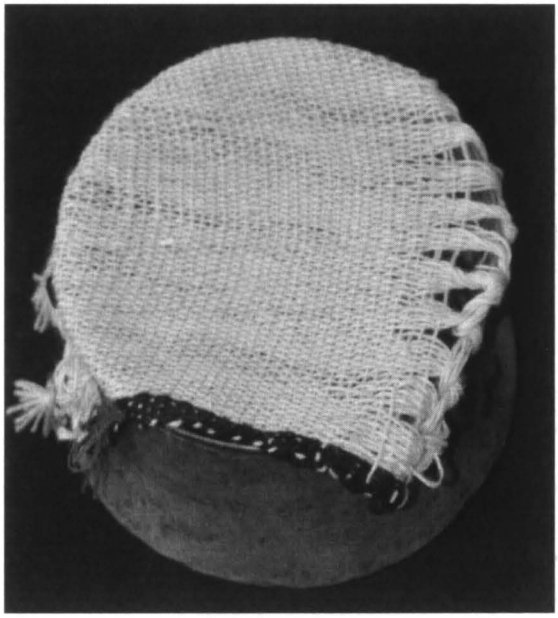
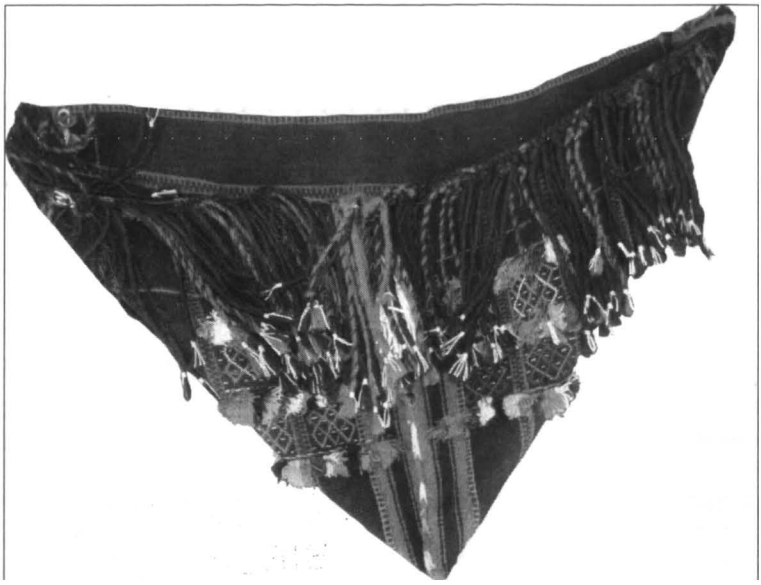


Figure 7: Copper bucket with a weaving, called şir *parzunk* (milk filter) for filtering and keeping milk clean. From the collection of Halil İbrahimoğlu, Hakkâri
Figure 8: Weaving called parzun (shown with green arrow) and leather bottle/tulum (shown with yellow arrow) in it

6. SAMPLES OF WOMEN'S BACKPACKS (PARZUN) IN HAKKÂRI REGION

Sample 1; Figure 9:

Owner/location: Bekir Doğan (woven by Fatma Doğan, Oluklu [Eremyan] Village).
Description and features: This lavishly coloured asset was woven to carry different elements on the backs of women, including a leather bottle used for carrying milk. The design elements



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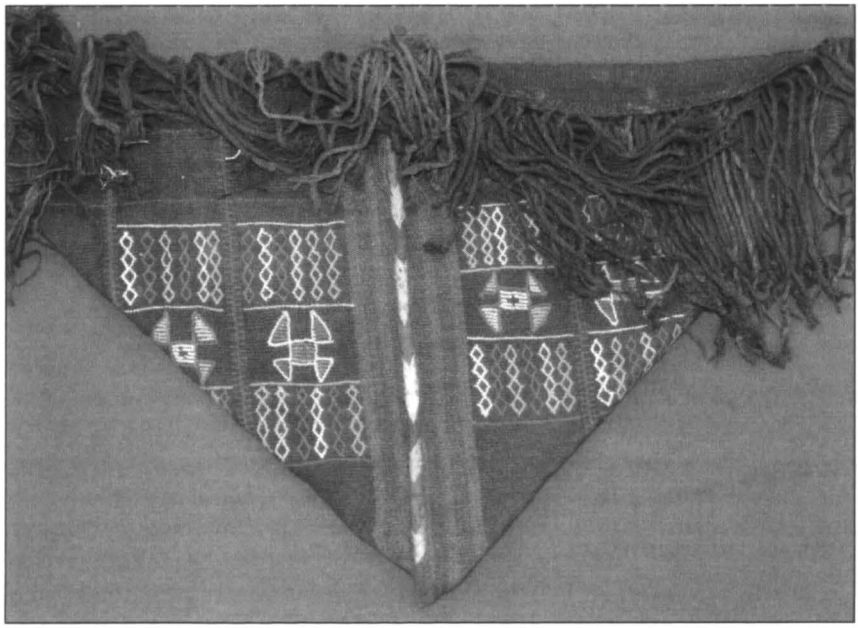
of the field, stripes with black and red comb motif, are in vertical form. There is also a geometric arrangement consisting of diamonds with colours such as blue-red, blue-pomegranate colour and green-pomegranate on the ground of the parzun. There is a relief work with wool in various colours between lobed star motifs and outer edges. There are 40 cm long knitted black, black-red and pomegranate coloured fringes on the mouth of the parzun. The different coloured outer seam used to join the edges of the piece creates a different effect. Although it is a weave to carry a leather bottle (tulum), it has not been used for such a purpose yet.

Sample 2; Figure 10:



Owner/ location: Hüseyin Karay, Yüksekova. *Description and features:* This parzun can be used for carrying items like a leather bottle (tulum), osier wood and etc. things on women's backs. It is overall colourful and patterned. There are vertical strips with comb motifs consisting rectangular compositions on the ground of the asset. In the middle of the ground, there are two eye motifs on each side of the packing needle work (stitching). The eye motifs, believed to protect people from different dangers and evil, are in different colours. While two of them are green and red, the others have red edges filled with white, green and yellow colours. Above and below eye motif compositions, there are eye motifs consists of six rows of diamonds, laying together, in colours such as yellow, green, red (two pieces), white and pink. There are hand-knitted black, red, and blue fringes and tassels on the upper part of the parzun. This asset is new and it seems that it has not been used for any purposes at all.

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Sample 3;
Figure 11:

Owner/location: İdris Zeydan. Büyükçiftlik Town, Yüksekova.
Description and features: This parzun is highly used and worn out. In Büyükçüftlik town, this type of women's backpack is called "şîrkeşk" instead of "parzun". The word şîrkêşk means "milk carrier". This name is given due to its main function being used in the transportation of a leather bottle (tulum). On the other hand, the common name of this asset in the Hakkâri region is parzun. The word "parzun" also includes the meaning of filtering and also a cloth for filtering. There are vertical stripes on the ground of the asset, on both sides of the packing needle work (stitching) in the middle of this fabric, parallel to each other on the vertical axis. There are rectangular and triangular geometric shapes in the form of a diamond pattern in the blue stripes. The fringes with red, blue, black and white colours left in the mouth of the parzuns are also quite worn out. White woollen yarn was used in the two rope handles. The rope handles are used to carry parzun on one's back. They are hold with hands or tied in the front.

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Sample 4;
Figure 12:

Owner/ location: Nedeli Zere. Büyükçiftlik Town, Yüksekova.
Description and features: This craftwork was woven 40 years ago. It is 40 x 43 cm of sizes. As a result of face-to-face interviews held with the owner, we learned that the decoration on the parzun was depicted by inspireing a Persian carpet. The asset, woven in rectangular and then stitched in a square shape, contains a border with floral motifs and three bands. The stripes, depicted with comb motifs, are bordering and separating the bands. There are diamonds with hook motif filled with amulet/eye motifs. Besides a leather bottle of milk, it can be used in carrying things such as osier wood, wheat seed and etc. The asset, woven with natural dyed yarn in red, blue, yellow and claret red, has rope handles/broad bands knitted with white woollen yarn. This handicraft has no fringes or tassels like the ones we saw before.

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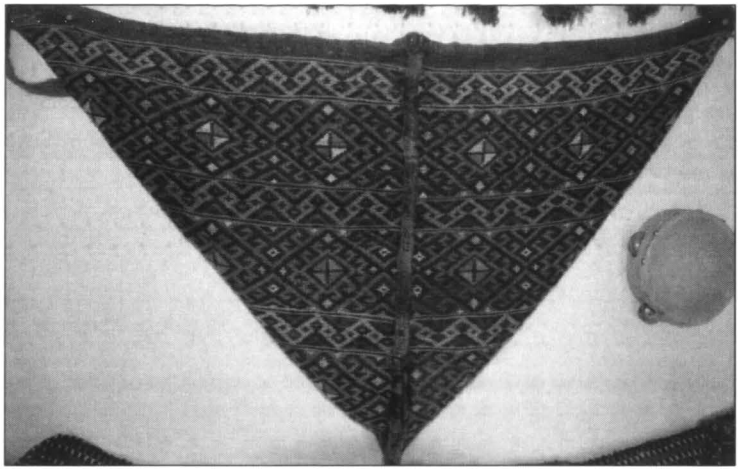
Sample 5; Figure 13:

Owner/location: Raif Tatlı (woven by Safiye Tatlı. Büyükçiftlik Town, Yüksekova).
Description and features: This handicraft, woven around 80 years ago, is colourful and it has vertical stripes in blue and claret red colours. It has a packing needlework (stitching) in the middle with the same natural dyed yarn. It is still used for carrying milk leather bottle (tulum). The long, lavish and colourful fringes and tassels of the pazrun attract great attention. Fringes, wrapped with different colour yarn and including purl, give a lively look. Rope handles of the weaving have the same material, knitted with natural dyed yarn in blue and claret red colours. Besides milk leather bottle, it can be used for carrying a baby, a lamb and osier wood. As sheep breeding is still an important source of income for the people in this town such handicrafts are still widely encountered.

Sample 6; Figure 14:



Owner/location: Cultural Centre, Semdinli.
Description and features: This weave is fully coloured and patterned. The asset is eye catching with the motifs applied on the ground. We can see the motif of the

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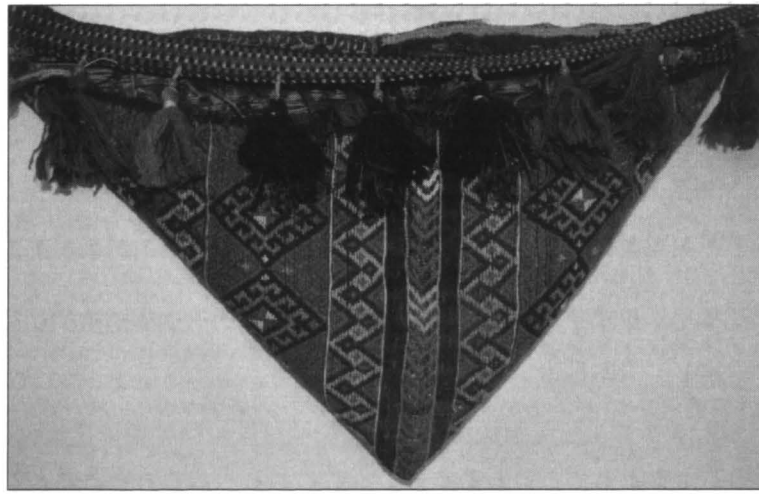
hands on hips, the scorpion motif in diamond shapes and amulet/evil eye motifs. Thus, besides the motif of "hands on hips", which is the symbol of reproduction and abundance; we can see scorpion and amulet/evil eye motifs, which have a protective function against all kinds of evil and danger. At this point, protection of both people and the elements carried in this weave are brought to the fore. Despite the rich decoration, there are no tassels and fringes. In weaving, yarns obtained from natural dyes in brown, pomegranate, white and blue, black were used. Today, lack of museums is seen as one of the deficiencies in terms of protecting and introduction of ethnographic assets in Hakkâri province. On the other hand, efforts on an individual basis are respectable. Namely; İbrahim Halilioğu and Ahmet Aşkan in Hakkâri, Hüseyin Karay in Yüksekova District, Muhittin Dervişoğlu in Çukurca District and Kazım Sağan in Şemdinli District. The sensitivity of the cultural centres in Şemdinli District also contributes to the promotion and protection of the artistic values in the region.

Sample 7; Figure 15:



Owner/location: This asset also belongs to the Cultural Centre, Semdinli.

Description and features: This weave has a great similarity with the previous one (Sample 6; Figure 14) in terms of decoration. Differently from that, we can see woollen yarn of different colours in the patterns, and motifs are in vertical forms instead of horizontal. There are intertwined scorpion motifs and amulet/evil eye motifs which are considered symbols of protection against all kinds of evil and danger and stripes filled with hands on hips motif, attributed to the symbol of multiplication and fertility on the ground of the asset. Apart from them, we can see hooked motifs in the space (blanks areas) between diamond-shaped scorpion motifs and hands on hips motifs. Natural dyed yarn used in this weave is in yellow, green, red, blue, white, orange and black colours. In this handicraft, we can see a broad belt with tassels in black, red and light blue colours stitched into the mouth of the weave piece with blue bead attached to the bottom of each tassel. So, the decoration on the work aims to protect both the user and the element to be carried in the work from any danger. In Semdinli District, an important place in handicrafts,

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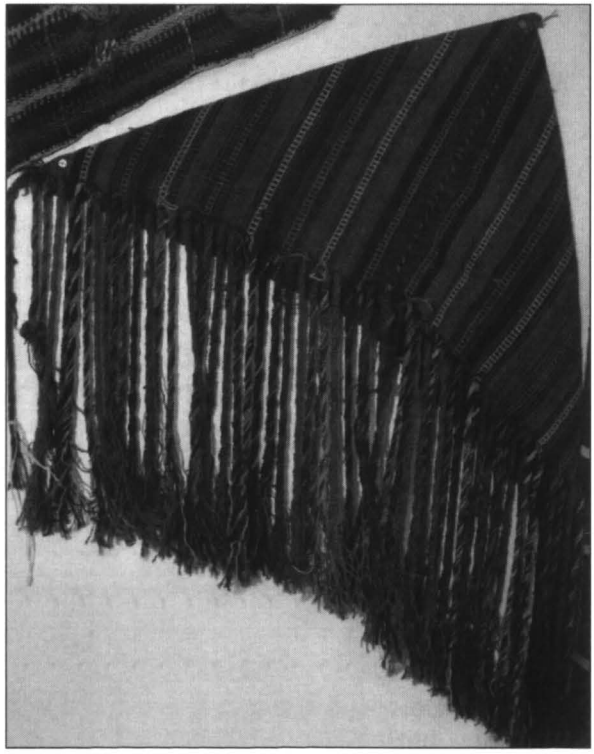
we can see various woven works exhibited at homes, in culture and art centre, public training centre and workplaces.

Sample 8; Figure 16:



Owner/location: Cultural Centre, Şemdinli.
Description and features: This craftwork, attracts attention with its long fringes and the lavish colours of the yarn obtained from the natural dye used in this weave. There are vertical stripes with comb motif on both sides. Natural dyed yarns, composing stripes in different colours over the entire surface, are in harmony and they enrich visual appearance of the handicraft. Thus, we can say that this handicraft has a fascinating beauty with hand spun wool and natural dyed yarn, colourful long tassels and good design. This parzun was also woven in order to carry a leather bottle (tulum). However, it has not been used at all. This asset was woven as a rectangular shape and then it was stitched together in a square shape with wool yarn of the same colour using a packing needle.

Sample 9; Figure 17:

Owner/location: Derecik.
Description and features: We can see natural dyed woollen yarn in white, orange, green, red,

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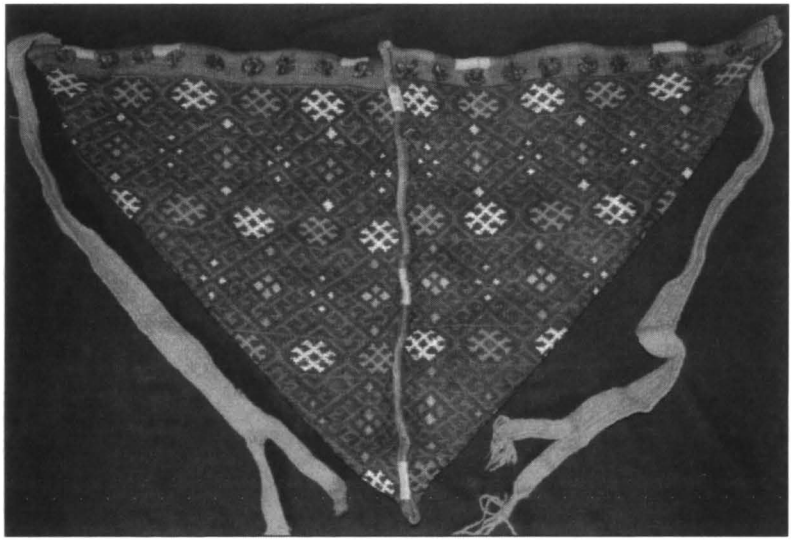
yellow, black, blue and brown are colours in this weave. It is a type of weaving that can be used for carrying a leather bottle (tulum) and also for throwing seed wheat into the field. There are two horizontal stripes filled with water-way motifs, attributed to fertility and separating the main patterns (scorpion motifs, considered symbols of protection) in a diamond shape. Compositions of scorpion motifs in two bands are in different colours, blue and green. In the centre of the scorpion motifs, we can see eye motifs, attributed to protecting from evil eye and danger. The stripes, separating scorpion motifs, are also in different colours, red and white. We can see hooked motifs in the space (blanks areas). If we are to keep composition in perspective, with patterns illustrating scorpion motifs, eye motifs and water-way motifs, the weaver desires to live a happy life and be safe from danger. The needle work (stitching) in the middle is of different material. Instead of natural dyed woollen yarn, orlon was used. The needle work in green, red, blue and pink colours are in harmony with the patterns on the ground of the asset.

Sample 10;
Figure 18:



Owner/location: Dereyanı Village, Şemdinli.
Description and features: It is a handicraft that can be used in carrying different elements in addition to the leather bottle and the seed wheat to be thrown into the field. On the ground of this weave, there are pomegranate flower motifs in green, white, black and yellow colours and also diamond shaped scorpion motifs filled with amulet/eye motifs in the centre. Apart from them, there are hooked motifs in the blanks areas. When the motifs on the parzun are considered as a whole, it is possible that the person woven this handicraft may wish to be protected from all kinds of evil eye, evil and danger, as well as indicate the protection of the things carried in the weave. The arm rope handles and the needle work (stitching) in the middle is of different material. Instead of natural dyed woollen yarn, orlon was used. While the rope handles are orange, the needle work is in yellow, blue, red and purple colours.

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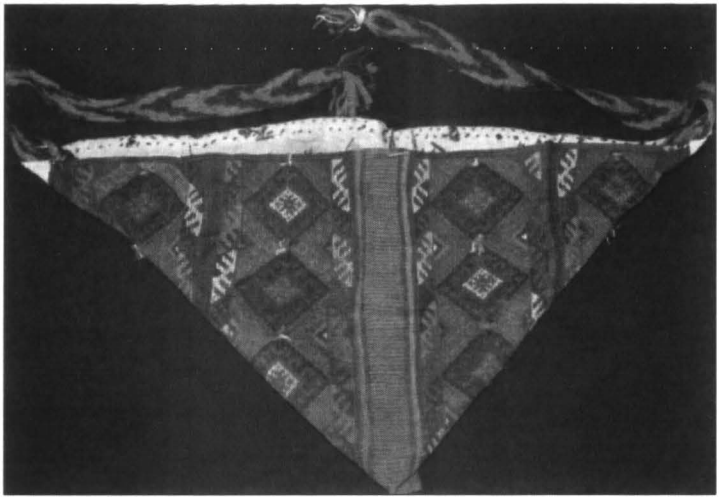
Sample 11; Figure 19:

Owner/location: Bağlar Village, Şemdinli.
Description and features: This weave was woven with woollen yarn made from natural dyes in burgundy, green, red, blue and yellow colours. This asset shows similarity in terms of patterns with Sample 9, Figure 17. In this handicraft, we can see diamond-shaped scorpion motifs including amulet/eye motifs in the centre and also horizontal stripes separating the bands filled with scorpion motifs. The spaces were filled with hooked motifs and the stripes also have the same design, depicted with water-way motifs. The two samples differ from each other in terms of colours of woollen yarn used in weaving and we can see a relief ornament from orlon yarn in various colours on the upper part of this one while the other one has a plain border. The surface of the handicrafts in Hakkâri province is usually covered with scorpion motifs and amulet/evil eye. Motifs depicted against different external threats are not only meant to protect the person, but they are also aimed to protect elements such as milk etc. that are carried in this weaving. For example, a full milk leather bottle will always attract attention. For this, the milk yield of sheep may be in danger due to the evil eye. The evil eye motif is frequently used against these and similar threats.

Sample 12; Figure 20:



Owner/location: A cafe, Şemdinli.
Description and features: This handicraft was woven with natural dyed woollen yarn in green, red, brown,

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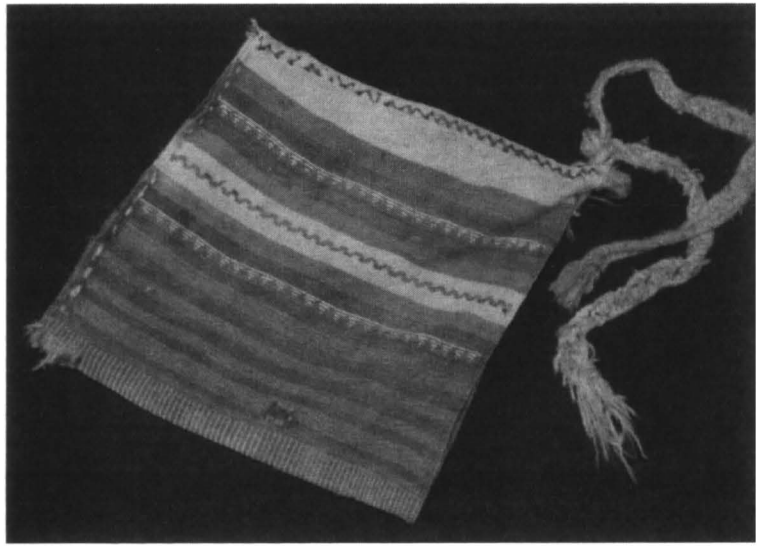
blue, yellow and white colours. It does not have tassels or fringes on the upper edges. At this point, we can say that besides fringed and tasselled parzuns, we can encounter parzuns without tassels and fringes in Şemdinli and Derecik districts. On the other hand, in the other parts of Hakkâri, the parzun are mostly with fringes and tassels. On the ground of this handicraft, while some of the diamond motifs were intertwined with scorpion motifs and cocklebur motifs, some were intertwined with scorpion motifs and amulet/evil eye motifs. In spite of depicting different motifs, they have similar meanings. So, they carry the same message. In this context, the craftsperson emphasized milk to be fertile and also to be protected from the evil eye besides wishing the owner to be protected from evil eye and any danger. The rope handles have woollen yarn of different colours. This parzun, besides carrying milk leather bottle can be used for carrying beets, bushes, etc. As the mouth of the parzun is worn-out, it has been sewn with a rag fabric.

Sample 13;
Figure 21:



Owner/location: Altınsu, Şemdinli.
Description and features: This parzun dated 100 years ago, was woven with red, black and white woollen yarn. It is noteworthy that most of the parzun samples we encounter in the Altınsu neighbourhood, where the people of the Herki tribe are mostly settled, do not include tassels and fringes on the upper edges. There are parallel stripes with different colours as a decoration. In the middle of the two strips, there is a triangle-shaped geometric row and a waterway motif. This weaving, which has been used for a long time, is worn out. This weaving, which is used for transportation, has the function of carrying elements such as milk, beet and osier wood. The rope handles of parzun were woven with the material used in weaving. The rope handle of one side is torn and it is fastened to the other rope handle. Although this weaving is worn-out, it is carefully preserved by the family it belongs to. It has been observed that such weavings are either burned or thrown away by many families. In order to protect these elements, it is important to inform the local people about the value of the cultural assets besides other measures.

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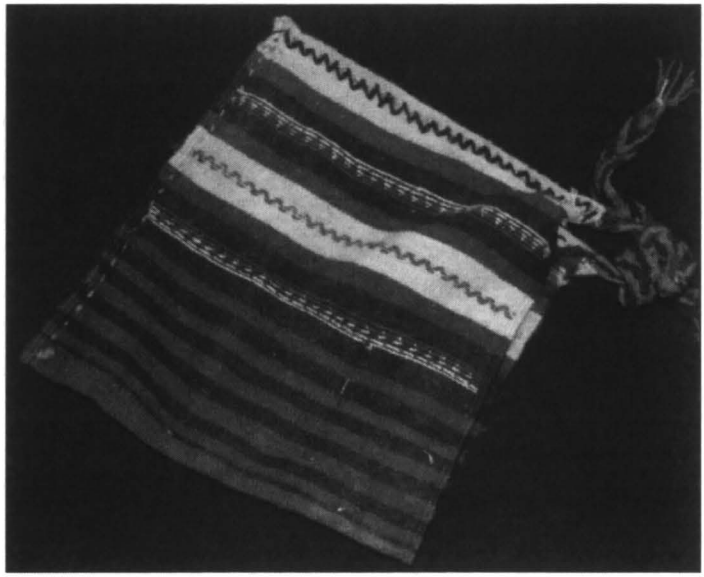
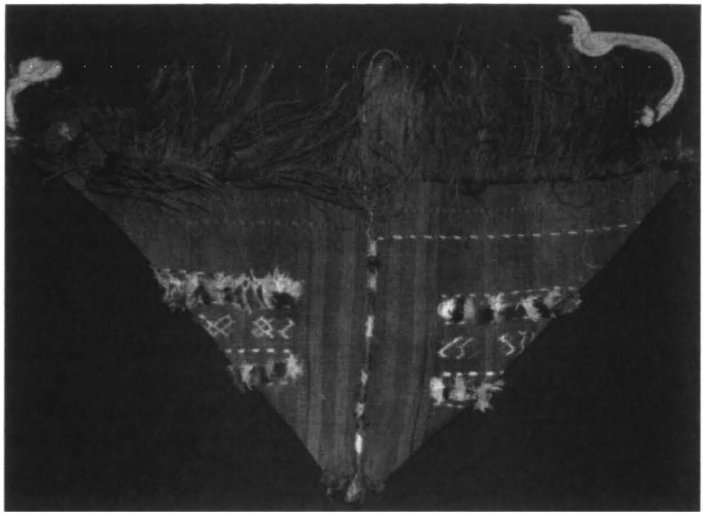
Sample 14; Figure 22:



Owner/location: Altınsu, Şemdinli. *Description and features:* Although the colours of the yarn used in this weave are different from Sample 13 in Photo 21, its decoration shows a great similarity. It seems that with the vibrant colours seen in this weaving, this asset either has been woven recently or it has not been used for any purposes and it has been kept very carefully. Considering that the previous example also belongs to the same region, the decoration in this weaving is inspired by sample 13 seen in figure 21. This example is also of great importance as it serves as an example of how a cultural heritage is transmitted from hand to hand. In this weaving, we can see transversely parallel stripes of different colours. In the middle of the two strips, there is a triangle-shaped geometric row and a waterway motif. The rope handles on the two upper sides of the parzuns were woven with woollen yarn of different colours from the yarn used in weaving. It has a similar function as other parzuns used in the carrying of leather bottles (tulum), beet and osier wood. According to the information obtained, many ethnographic works in Altınsu district were sold out. Hawkers in the region trade/exchange of poor quality goods such as ready-to-wear, cookware and bake ware, carpets and etc.

Sample 15; Figure 23:



Owner/location: Kazım Sağan, Şemdinli. *Description and features:* In addition to public and private

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institutions in Şemdinli district, ethnographic art exhibitions and collections can be found in some houses and this reveals the richness of ethnographic works in this region in a way. Kazım Sağan also has an ethnographic collection at his home. In addition to different traditional clothes, his collection includes different works used in the recent social life. This handicraft dates back 100 years. It was woven with woollen yarn in black, blue and burgundy. Later on, embossed ornaments were embroidered with orlon yarns of various colours. Above the relief decoration, there are two stitch decorations in blue and red colours on the both fields. These stitches add richness to the weave in terms of visual quality. Although this asset is worn out, it is carefully preserved. The rope handles on the upper two edges of the weaving were woven with white woollen yarn. There are fringes of the same colour used in weaving on the upper outer edges. This women's backpack has the function of carrying items such as a leather bottle (tulum) and beets.

Sample 16;
Figure 24:

Owner/ location: A cafe, Şemdinli. *Description and features:* This asset was woven as a rectangular shape and then it was stitched together in a square shape with wool yarn of the same colour using a packing needle. This women's backpack (parzun), which does not have fringe or tassel, is used in the carrying plants used in cheese as well as a milk leather bottle. This asset was woven with woollen yarn in burgundy, black, white, blue, yellow and red and it was decorated with parallel stripes of different colours. There are waterway motifs filled in one of the strips and the other has six equilateral quadrangle in green, pomegranate, red, black, pink and yellow colours and there are ram's head motifs in the space (blanks areas). The rope handles of Parzun were also woven with woollen yarn of the same colour used in weaving. Displaying ethnographic works in workplaces such as restaurants, cafes, offices, etc. besides homes and public institutions, makes an important contribution to the survival of the culture and art of the region.

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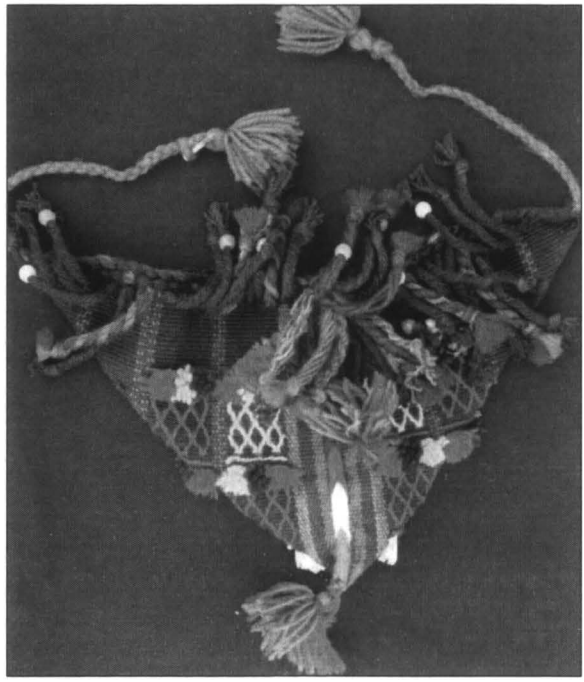
Sample 17; Figure 25:



Owner/location: Selman Özer, Gündeş Village.
Description and features: Strips in different colours were applied on the field of this handicraft piece. Decorations in the form of wool relief in different colours are also seen. A geometric arrangement consisting of rhombuses in two rows side by side and one under the other is included. Most of the weaving and knitting works of the Hakkâri region are now produced for ornamental and souvenir purposes. It is possible to come across woven works produced for ornamenttal and souvenir purposes such as socks, gloves, saddlebags and bags in cars, at home, at work and etc. Thus, the works that were indispensable elements of social life in the past but are not needed today as a result of technology and industry are tried to be kept alive in this way. This asset was also woven as a rectangular shape and then it was stitched together in a square shape with wool yarn of the same colour using a packing needle like the ones which are used in carrying various things.

Sample 18; Figure 26:

Owner/location: Boybeyi Village.
Description and features: This fringed and tasselled parzun was woven with a 3-plied woollen yarn spun by hand. It was woven as a rectangle and then the edges were joined in a square or almost square shape. However, it takes a triangular shape when it is taken on one's back as seen in the

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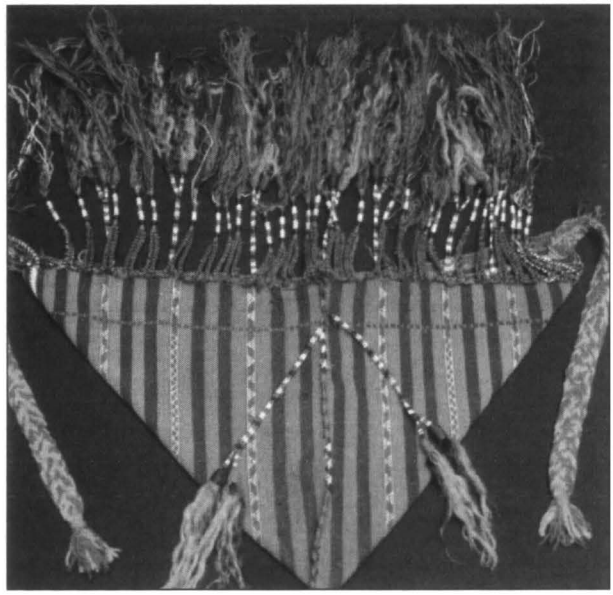
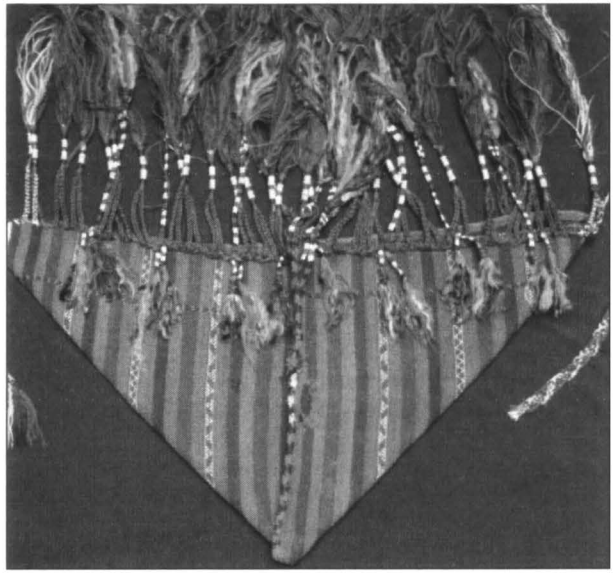
image. In addition to the vertical red, black and white stripes, the fringes and tassels on the upper edge of the weaving are important in the visualise of the weave. Parzun shows the handicraft skill of the woman who goes to milk sheep besides its carrying function. In this context, these weaves are remarkable in terms of decoration, material as well as fine work.

Sample 19; Figure 27:



Owner/location: Urartu Kilim, Van (weaving brought from Şemdinli).
Description and features: This asset was encountered in Van Urartu Carpet Centre. This carpet centre has a large number of ethnographic works and most of the works comercialised here are obtained from Hakkâri province. This weave was also brought from Şemdinli district of Hakkâri province. On the other hand, there is a production of different weavings, especially rugs, with their experienced weavers at Urartu Kilm's centre. The base of the weaving has red and black stripes. There are also strips with decorations similar to the waterway motif on the ground. The tassels in the mouth of the parzun, hanging on the outer side of the weave, were wrapped in glitter, giving a bright appearance. There are also two tassels in the middle which add richness from the visual perspective.

Sample 20; Figure 28:



Owner/location: Urartu Kilim, Van (weaving brought from Şemdinli).
Material: A 3-plied woollen yarn spun with hand by using a spindle.
Description and features: This handicraft was also brought from Şemdinli district

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of Hakkâri province. Besides plain vertical stripes in blue and claret red colours, there are patterned white filled with waterway motifs on the ground of the asset. The tassels in the mouth of the parzun, hanging on the outer side of the fabric, were wrapped in glitter, giving a bright appearance. The difference of this weave form Sample 19, Figure 27 is that this one has two rows of tassels, one shorter and the other longer, while the other one has two tassels in the middle. This parzun was also woven to be used for carrying different items, especially a leather bottle (tulum), on the back. There was some wear on the central part of the outer face of the weave, but it was repaired. It is nice to see that woven assets of Hakkâri are sold in Turkey and in different parts of world. However, it is also very important to have new works that can be replaced by the assets sold. Otherwise, these cultural artefacts will disappear one by one.

7. METHODS AND MATERIALS OF CARRYING GOODS ON WOMEN'S BACK IN OTHER REGIONS OF ANATOLIA

Parzun, which is mainly a women's backpack in the Hakkâri region, is an asset that has mainly the function of carrying a leather bottle (tulum). However, this element is not only a simple weaving used to carry a leather bottle or a different item, but also a witness of a social life, which reflects a region's culture and art. The tradition of carrying different elements on the backs of women is common in different parts of Anatolia, as well. Saddlebags, sacks, bags or baskets of different sizes are some of the elements that women use to carry different items inside them.

"Saddlebags, bags and sacks are woven for storage and transportation purposes in Muğla and its surroundings. These items have a place in the Turkish way of life and have weave products for thousands of years. These items still remain in use today in the daily life of the weaver and make their life easier. In addition to saddlebags, bags and sacks, some examples of mafras used to store and carry mattresses and quilts have been found in the region. Carpet and flat weaving techniques are used in these weaving utility items" (Nurhan ve Etikan, 2014: 6).

The bag is woven smaller than the sack and can be used for carrying bread, salt, tarhana (soup with dried yoghurt), etc. It is a one-eyed saddlebag used to carry objects. It has long handles on both sides to be put on shoulders (Balpınar, 1983: 116; Deniz, 2000: 86; Soysaldı, 2009: 195; Nurhan ve Etikan, 2014: 6).

"Sack: They are weavings used to store or carry things inside. Depending its function, it takes names such as flour sack, burden sack and back sack. The bag in which underwear and clothes are placed is called a back bag or *asbab* bag. The back bag is usually woven with a pattern; therefore, it is also called ala (colourful) sack. Ala sack is woven with the cross alternative sumac technique on the front and the rug technique on the back. The edges are belted for easy lowering and lifting, and the belt (rope handles) are made of girth. If food is put inside and put aside, this time it is called a load bag. The load bag is 70x120 cm in size and the samples in which grain and flour are carried or stored and they are usually without a pattern or with bars. These types of bags are usually woven from goat hair to prevent moisture" (Ölmez ve Aydoğan, 2008: 913).

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"Sack is of great importance in the life of Yörük due to the lifestyle and the ease of providing the material. Ala sacks are used for garment, pots, food transport and storage. In order to facilitate the transportation of ala çuval and lime sacks, rope handles are sewn on the sides. In the region, girth weavings called *sultan*, *dişli girth* and *gön kolan* are made" (Öztürk, 2005: 156).

Baskets used for different purposes are common in the Black Sea Region. Hazelnut or chestnut tree branches are generally used as the main material in basket making in this region. Branches used in basket making are first heated on fire or kept in water for 2–3 days. Among the basket types, there are also those made for carrying loads on the back. In this region, carrying items on the back is usually done by women. Baskets have different names according to their function and form. They have wide or narrow pores depending on their function and their sizes also vary. For example; baskets used for collecting eggs, nuts and strawberries are small and are tied to the waist with a rope. Baskets used for carrying tea leaves have larger pores and are carried on the back. Bun nails are usually attached to the two lower edge ends of the baskets to prevent fraying when they are lifted or lowered from the back (Fig. 29).

Figure 29: A woman with a basket on her back, Pazar District, Rize

8. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Men and women in the Hakkâri region have not had special handbags until recently. Belongings such as money, mirror, comb, knife, sewing needle, etc. that may be needed in daily life were carried in the belts (girdle) which people worn around their waist and this seems one of the main reasons of why we can't encounter so many men and women handbags in this region. As for carrying goods on the back, while women carried items with larger volumes in backpacks called parzuns, men used to carry them in bags, which we also encounter in other regions of Anatolia and generally called sheepherders' bags.

There are five types of weaving used in carrying goods with human and animal power in the Hakkâri region, and the weaving called *parzun*, which is a women's

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backpack, is one of them. Its main function is to use it in carrying a milk leather bottle (tulum). However, apart from a milk leather bottle, herbs used in making various meals and cheese, a baby, lamb/goat, bush-twigs etc. elements can be carried by means of this weaving. The following briefly describes key features of the parzun identified in the field study in terms of technique, material, form, function and decoration:

Technique: Parzuns are woven on a hand loom using plain/flat weave technique. They are woven in a rectangular shape, stitched to a square or close to square shape and take the shape of a triangle when they are taken on one's back.

Material: The weavings called parzun are mainly made from 2 or -3 plied woollen yarn obtained from natural dyes which is spun by hand with the means of a spindle called "teşi".

Shape: They are woven as a rectangular shape and then they are stitched together in a square shape with wool yarn of the same colour using a packing needle. However, when they are lift and taken on back, they take a triangular shape.

Function: As can be understood from the other name of the parzun (şîrkeşk - milk carrier/holder), its main function is to use it in the transportation of milk leather bottles. However, we see it in the transportation of the plants collected to be added to cheese. In addition to these, they are used for carrying brushwood, a baby, a yeanling and so on. Although they are women's backpacks, they are used by men when they throw wheat in the field. However, instead of carrying on their back, they shoulder them.

Decoration: Parzuns, which are women's backpacks, are generally completely colourful and patterned. Among the motifs we encounter on the parzuns, there are scorpion motifs, cocklebur motifs, comb motifs, eye/evil-eye motifs, hands on hips motifs, waterway motifs, ram head motifs and rhombus motifs besides geometric motifs. As it can be seen, there are two main themes in the decoration. They are protection/evil eye and fertility. Considering decoration as whole, besides the protection of both the owner of the weaving and the elements carried in the weavings, the wish of the element in the weaving to be abundant has come to the fore.

Fringed and tasselled parzuns: The fringes and tassels in the mouth of the parzuns that hang out add a distinct visualisation to the weave. Purl is often used in tassel, thus it makes them visually more striking. In some parzuns, we also find tassels in two rows, short and long. Although the length of fringes and tassel varies, they are usually about 40/50 cm long.

Parzuns with stripes/bands filled with various motifs: On the ground of most of the parzuns, plain vertical/horizontal bands/stripes of different colours or patterned bands/stripes can be encountered.

Parzuns embossed with wool of different colours: In these kinds of parzuns, generally geometric arrangements such as parallel stripes and rhombus are used as decoration.

Sewing of parzuns: Mainly on the ground of such handicrafts visual quality (imagery) visual quality (imagery) is important and the design elements of the field

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usually covers fringes, tassels, armbands and even the stitching used to combine weave in a square form. Woollen yarn obtained from natural dyes with bright colours is generally used for sewing/stitching. In the research on women's backpacks, which have two armbands (rope handles), woven in rectangular shape, stitched in a square shape and take a triangular shape when used, it is understood that this type of handicraft is unique to the Hakkâri region and neighbouring districts of Van and Şırnak provinces. Considering the other regions of Anatolia, we see that sacks (ala/colourful sacks) or bags are the elements to carry goods on the backs of women. Long rope handles are stitched on both sides to allow them be placed on the shoulder or on back. This type of weaving also has an important place in terms of decoration with many different motifs applied on them and these motifs are very similar to those on the pieces of Hakkâri region. On the other hand, women in the Black Sea Region use baskets made of linden or hazelnut tree branches as well as bags to carry different elements on their backs.

Conclusion: Women's backpack, which is called parzun in Hakkâri, is an asset for carrying items. Considering weavings with the same function in other regions of Anatolia, mostly bag and sack weavings come to the fore. In terms of patterns, they are similar to ala çuval (colourful back bags). When the parzun weavings of the Hakkâri region are examined as decoration, it is noteworthy that the parzuns woven in the recent past have the motif of fertility and evil eye, while the older parzuns are in the form of parallel stripes and waterways. This way, the weaver has emphasized the protection of both the person who owns this weave and the element carried in the weave from all kinds of dangers, especially the evil eye. This type of weave, which is not needed functionally in recent years, is at risk of extinction. Samples for giving as a souvenir and gift will unfortunately not be enough to carry related social life, culture and art to future generations. If these weavings are exhibited in ethnographic museums and transformed into works with different functions, it will make a great contribution to their protection and introduction.*

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DATA COLLECTION

Nedeli Zere (housewife). Büyükçiftlik Town, Yüksekova.
Saliha Akar (expert at weaving). Geçitli Village, Hakkâri.
Fatma Doğan (expert at weaving). Oluklu Village, Hakkâri.

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WELCOMING AND FAREWELL MILK TEETH TRADITIONS

FUNDA GULAY KADIOĞLU

ABSTRACT

Milk teeth are the only organ that human beings directly witness to their emergence and extinction. Due to this special situation, the milk tooth is not only a biological structure but also a cultural entity which is the subject of folkloric rituals. It is physiologically painful and uncomfortable that this special organ of the digestive system comes to and leaves from the mouth (tooth eruption and shedding). Possibly, to help overcome this troubled period, almost every society has established its own rituals within their cultural values specific to these processes. Thus, milk teeth have become the only organ with the tradition of "welcoming and farewell" for them in a folkloric context. In Turkey, the Balkans, the Turkic Republics and Arab countries, it is particularly important to carry out a "tooth wheat ceremony" for the first milk tooth of a child. The dominant view in these traditions is that holding this ceremony will help the child's milk teeth erupt on time and be strong. Unlike Eastern societies, in the folklore of Western societies, there are almost no welcome rituals performed for the eruption phase of milk teeth. However, the farewell traditions of the first milk tooth exist in every society. In Turkish culture, there is also a symbolic farewell ceremony for the loss of the first milk tooth. The purpose of this ceremony, in which the milk tooth is thrown to the roof of the house along with a wish rhyme, is to ensure that the permanent teeth are strong and white. In the farewell tradition, some special characters are in the foreground in European and American cultures. In European culture, this character is the Tooth Mouse, while in American culture it is the Tooth Fairy. In terms of oral and dental health and overcoming the concerns of the child's tooth loss, the Tooth Fairy was also adopted by the dental community. As a reflection of the effect of globalization factors on local cultures, the rapid acceptance of the Tooth Fairy, which is not found in Turkish culture, brings along the concern that national cultural values can be forgotten. In Turkish culture, the ritual of "wishing for a healthy tooth" is spiritually valuable, while the Tooth Fairy's "taking the milk tooth and giving money in return" displays a material value.

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The possibility of changing values undoubtedly makes it necessary to emphasize our traditions of welcoming and farewell of the milk tooth.
Keywords: Folklore, milk tooth, milk tooth eruption and shedding, tooth fairy, tradition.

INTRODUCTION

The tooth is an important organ of the digestive system. Milk teeth are formed during the intrauterine period, and they begin to erupt in the baby's dental arches at about six months of age. At around six years of age, when the permanent dentition period occurs, the milk teeth start shedding and leaving the mouth, and then are replaced by permanent teeth (American Academy of Pediatric Dentistry 2019). All organs are developed in prenatal period, and under normal circumstances, they continue to exist within the body throughout life. Unless an organ transplantation is performed, no organ is ever replaced. Only the teeth are renewed during a lifetime, and since human beings witness the emergence and extinction of them, milk teeth are special. This interesting situation makes milk teeth not only a biological structure, but also a cultural entity that is subject to folkloric rituals. In fact, eruption and falling out of a primary tooth is physiologically painful, and it is an uncomfortable traumatic process. Perhaps in order to help overcome this troubled period, almost every society has created their own cultural traditions, and thus milk teeth have become an organ for which a "welcome and farewell" ceremony is held in folkloric context.

The farewell traditions of the first milk tooth exist in every culture including Turkish folklore and they are rather similar. However, in American dental folklore this tradition is quite different. In Turkish culture, the ritual of "wishing for a healthy tooth" is at the center of a farewell ceremony, while in American culture the Tooth Fairy picks the milk tooth and gives money in return. As a reflection of the effect of globalization factors on local cultures, the rapid acceptance of the Tooth Fairy, a figure that is not found in Turkish culture, brings along the concern that national cultural values can be forgotten.

In this study, the welcoming and farewell traditions of milk teeth in Turkish culture and other cultures are introduced, and Turkish traditions' tendency to change is discussed.

WELCOMING TRADITIONS OF MILK TEETH

The eruption of the first milk tooth, which is considered as one of the biological growth and development signs of the baby, is celebrated with the ancient tradition of "tooth wheat" ceremonies in Turkey. The basis of this tradition is the desire to have healthy and aligned teeth, living an abundant life and blessing the food (Gürbüz 1995: 81-87, İrkil 2014: 257–258).

In his book *Folklore of the Teeth: History of Dentistry* published in 1927, Leo Kanner states that the rituals of welcoming milk teeth are limited in the

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Western societies (Kanner 1927: 293). He mentions about the Nordic myths and German traditions. In the former, a gift is given to the child whose first milk tooth appears while in the latter those who see the first milk tooth buy new clothes for the child. Welcoming the milk teeth with the tooth wheat ceremony is more common in the folklore of Turkey, Turkic Republics such as Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, some of the Balkan and Arab countries (Başal 2006: 45–70, Çokişler 2007: 177, Gürbüz 1995: 81-87, Kalafat 2010: 124, Kesgin and Özcebe 2004: 49, Perçemli 2011: 59, Svanberg 1987: 111–137).

According to Kanner, the origins of tooth wheat ceremony in Eastern culture can be traced back to a religious poem about Brihaspati in Indian Mythology. Considering the possibility that the child, whose erupting teeth are growing like tiger teeth, may harm his parents, Brihaspati fixes the teeth and advises: "You eat rice, wheat, sesame with these sharp teeth... Do not harm your parents" (Kanner 1927: 293).

In the tooth wheat ceremony in Turkish culture, wheat is boiled in water and enriched with other ingredients such as legumes, nuts and dried fruit, and served to guests. The purpose of this celebration, differently from the Indian tradition, is to share the good news about child with family, friends and neighbors while eating a special treat prepared from wheat in a joyful environment (Albayrak 2006: 40, Başal 2006: 45–70, Keskin 2009: 143, Perçemli 2011:59, Yaşar 2008: 108–112). It is believed that the tooth wheat ceremony will help the child's teeth to erupt in time, and the teeth will be strong. There are also some complementary rituals specific to this tradition. These complementary rituals include scattering boiled wheat grains over the head of the child, placing different items in front of the child and interpreting his/her choice of item in regard to their future profession, and giving presents to the child (Balkaya 2016: 193, Çokişler 2007: 177, Kayabaşı 2013: 82–84, Kesgin and Özcebe 2004: 49, Kıyak 200: 25, Polat 1995: 20).

In order to ensure that the child's teeth eruption process is as easy as wheat's swelling and bursting, wheat grains are scattered over the child's head during the ceremony. In other words, the aim is to establish "contact". The wheat scattering on the child's head can be explained by the Turkish folklore principle of "imitation and contact" which is based on the idea that "things that come into contact would pass on their positive effects to each other" (Albayrak 2006: 40, Kalafat 2010: 124, Perçemli 2011: 59, Sarıtaş 2011: 122–126). In the Eastern cultures, including Turkey, it is particularly significant to witness and herald the eruption of the child's first tooth. It is an important part of the tradition that the first person to see the child's tooth come out is to dress the child from head to toe and buy him new clothes (Balaban 2006: 86, Gürbüz 1995: 81–87, Keskin 2009: 143, Yolcu 2008: 48, Yüksel 2007: 166–170).

FAREWELL TRADITIONS OF MILK TEETH

Although farewell traditions are common and structurally similar all over the world, they differ from culture to culture in terms of content. We can find the roots

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of the Western rituals about the shedding milk teeth in Scandinavian myths. For instance, burying the fallen teeth in the ground to protect them from the witch's curse or hanging them around the child's neck as a necklace are among these rituals (Capps and Carlin 2014, Hellisen 2017, Uihle 2018). The concern underlying these rituals is the possibility of a body part being taken by another person and used for harming its owner. Leo Kanner's extensive study of dental folklore reveals how tooth farewell traditions can have similar characteristics in different societies around the world. Kanner summarizes the farewell traditions as follows: "When the milk tooth falls out, the child throws it back over his shoulder onto a rooftop or into a rat hole, and asks an animal, usually a rat or a squirrel, to replace it". He argues that this tradition is same in almost every culture including Germany, Russia, Romania, North Africa, Mexico and New Zealand. Additionally, he explains that in Armenian culture the fallen tooth is buried in the ground while in Arab societies it is thrown towards the sun (Kanner 1927: 292–293). Kalafat (2010: 115–129), in support of Kanner, underlines in his study on Jordanian society that the first tooth that falls out is thrown into the sun along with the rhyme "O sun, take my donkey tooth and give me a gazelle tooth". In his comparative study on Turkish culture and folklore, Svanberg (1987: 111–137) states that there are similar farewell rituals in a wide geographical area including the Balkans, Anatolia, Turkic Republics and Arab countries, and that the teeth are thrown onto the roof or to the sun or placed into a rat hole with wishes and requests.

Another interpretation, different than Kanner and Svanberg's arguments, especially regarding the traditions in Turkish culture, was published in the British Dental Journal. The British Dental Journal has dedicated 12 covers out of its 24 issues published in 2016 to original paintings with the theme of tooth fairy traditions in the world. These paintings were made by the English artist Thomas Allen. The river picture on the cover of the first issue represents the fallen milk tooth wrapped in cotton and thrown into the river in Pakistan and New Zealand traditions (British Dental Journal, 1, January 2016). The theme of the second issue is about traditions involving a tree. According to the description, in a tradition that belongs to North America, the fallen milk tooth is put on a tree by the mother or grandmother, and the family dances around the tree in the belief that the child's permanent tooth will grow as strong as a tree (British Dental Journal, 2, January 2016). The theme of the third issue is the necklace. In Chilean tradition, the child's fallen teeth are attached on a thread (sometimes placed in a small gold or silver frame) by the parents and worn by the child (British Dental Journal, 3, February 2016). In the fourth issue, it is stated that the tooth is thrown at the sun in Arab culture (British Dental Journal, 4, February 2016). The theme of the fifth issue is the Tooth Fairy itself. According to the common belief in England, the United States, Ireland, Canada, Australia and Denmark, when the fallen tooth is placed under the pillow at night, the Tooth Fairy collects these teeth and leaves coins instead (British Dental Journal, 5, March 2016). On the cover of the sixth issue of

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the journal a squirrel on a tree is depicted. According to the tradition in Sri Lanka, the children take the milk tooth in their hands, close their eyes and say, "Squirrel, squirrel, take this old tooth and give me a new one" while throwing the tooth into the tree, and then they run away without looking back (British Dental Journal, 6, March 2016). The cover of the seventh issue represents the tradition in Tajikistan. In this tradition, the teeth are sown in the fields in the belief that they will grow into protective warriors. It has been noted that Aboriginal Australians have a similar tradition. Aborigines put the tooth inside the pandanus plant so that when the pandanus grows into a tree, protective spirits that are believed to reside in the leaves of the plant will look after the child (British Dental Journal, 7, April 2016). On the cover of the eighth issue, the similar traditions of Botswana and Bhutan are depicted with the image of "moon in the night sky". In this tradition, children throw their milk tooth onto the roof of their houses, they call out the moon goddess and ask for a new, strong and healthy tooth (British Dental Journal, 8, April 2016). The image of the ninth issue is a bird flying in the air. In Brazil, India, Korea and Moldova, the fallen milk teeth are thrown on the roof of the house and the birds flying in the air are called by saying "Take away my tooth, bring a new one to me" (British Dental Journal, 9, May 2016). The cover of the tenth issue illustrates the traditions that involve throwing the lost tooth on the roof. According to the description, in Taiwan, Greece and Georgia, milk teeth are simply thrown, either towards or backwards, to the roofs (British Dental Journal, 10, May 2016). The theme of the eleventh issue is the mouse. In Spanish-speaking countries, the tooth fairy has been replaced by the tooth mouse. It is believed that the teeth hidden under the pillow at night will be taken by the mouse named Ratoncito Perez when the children fall asleep, and some money or candy will be left in their place (British Dental Journal, 11, June 2016). On the cover of the twelfth issue, a child burying his tooth in the ground is illustrated. According to the explanation, in Turkish tradition, the lost primary tooth is buried in the garden of the place where the child is expected to be in his future career (British Dental Journal, 12, June 2016).

Aforementioned information does not coincide with the results of authentic folklore studies carried out in Turkey. In Turkish culture, instead of being buried in the ground, the fallen milk teeth are thrown to the roof of the house along with wish rhymes. Seeing that this practice is well-established in our culture, further investigation is needed to clarify why such a different representation exists in the foreign literature. Although it is common to bury the tooth in the ground, it is usually thrown on the roof in Turkish culture. The error in the explanation of the cover picture is about the relationship between child's career and buried tooth. In Turkish tradition, rather than the teeth, baby's umbilical cord plays a role in determining child's future career. According to our traditions, when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it is buried in the ground in the expectation that the place it is buried will be related to the future profession of the child (Örnek 2015: 111, 173). In Turkish culture, the rituals to determine the future profession also

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involve the teeth. However, it is not practiced when the milk teeth are shedding but as a part of the welcoming ritual when baby's first teeth are erupting (Örnek 2015: 111, 173; Yüksel 2007: 166–170).

The purpose of the farewell ceremony for baby tooth in Turkish culture is to ensure that the permanent teeth will be strong and white. The common ritual of the ceremony is to throw the milk tooth to the roof or chimney of the house while singing a rhyme (Arslan 2011: 62, Çokişler 2007: 177, Karakaş 2012: 3–6, Keskin 2009: 143, Kıyak 200: 25, Sarıtaş 2011: 122–126, Yaşar 2008: 108–112, Yolcu 2008:48). The fallen tooth is thrown onto the roof of the house as it is believed that if the parts (the first tooth, nail, hair, etc.) leaving the body are kept somewhere close to the house, the child will also be closer to it (Yüksel 2007: 166–170).

Sometimes the tooth thrown on the roof is entrusted to birds, especially to crows. The core belief of this tradition is that birds are magical creatures (Perçemli 2011: 59). Due to regional differences, the tooth can also be thrown into a rat hole along with a wish rhyme (Balkaya 2016: 193, Kalafat 2010: 124, Gürbüz 1995: 81–87).

Some examples of the rhymes related to the first fallen baby tooth can be found below: (İrkil 2014: 258, Kayabaşı 2013: 82–84, Perçemli 2011: 59, Svanberg 1987: 111–137, Yaşar 2008: 108–112, Yüksel 2008: 170)

"Milk-tooth to the mouse, The iron-tooth to me",
"Crow, take the rotten tooth and Give me the new tooth",
"Crow, take this, my rotten tooth, Give me my silver-tooth",
"Crow, crow, take my tooth and Give a new tooth",
"Take my rotten tooth and Give me my pearl-tooth",
"Grow white, grow clean, Grow thick like the tooth of the sheep",
"Take this rotten tooth, Give me an iron-tooth",
"Grow whiter than a lamb's tooth, Grow stronger than a dog's tooth",
"Take, crow, this coal-tooth, Get me an iron-tooth".

It can be seen that the wishes for the fallen milk tooth in Turkish culture focus on the concepts of strength, whiteness and durability, which are the indicators of a healthy tooth.

TOOTH MOUSE AND TOOTH FAIRY

In the farewell traditions of the milk tooth, two special characters exist in European and American dental folklore. These characters are the Tooth Mouse and the Tooth Fairy (Blair 1980: 691–694, Capps and Carlin 2014: 265–280, Svanberg 1987: 111–137). Their common feature is to exchange the milk tooth for money or gifts. In France, Spain and South American countries such as Argentina, Venezuela and Guatemala a Tooth Mouse named Ratoncito Perez collects the teeth placed under the pillow and brings some money or candy to the child (Hellisen 2017, Uihle 2018). The Tooth Fairy is a more common figure in England, Canada, Australia, and the United States. According to cultural historians, while the fallen teeth used to be buried in the ground to protect the child from witches, today they

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are kept under pillows to be exchanged for money or gifts by the Tooth Fairy (Alty 2006: 18–22, Capps and Carlin 2014: 265–280).

The Tooth Fairy in American folklore evidently has its roots in European folklore, and moreover, it is related with the Tooth Mouse (Alty 2006: 18–22). The story *La Bonne Petite Souris*, written by Madame d'Aulnoy in 1697, found in the *Fairy Tales of French* literature, tells how the Tooth Mouse turns into the Tooth Fairy. In the story, the queen imprisoned by the demon king asks for help from a mouse who can turn into a fairy. The kindhearted mouse pulls out the king's teeth, then transforms into a fairy and hides the teeth under the king's pillow. Thus, the queen is set free (Uihle 2018). While the Tooth Fairy was continuing to be a rising star in dental folklore, Spanish writer Luis Coloma brought the Tooth Mouse named Ratoncito Perez alive again in 1894 with his story titled *Casa del Raton Perez* (Hellisen 2017).

The number of the children's books and cartoons about the Tooth Fairy has increased since the second half of the twentieth century especially in the United States and Canada. In terms of oral and dental health and for overcoming the anxiety of tooth loss, the character of the Tooth Fairy was quickly adopted by the dental professionals (Capps ve Carlin 2014:265–280, Muğlalı 2011:68–72, Svanberg 1987: 111–137). Since the 1980s, the Tooth Fairy has gained a different quality, and its commercial aspect has come to the fore. Especially in the United States, the amount of money given to the child by the family on behalf of the Tooth Fairy has increased over the years. With this aspect, the Tooth Fairy has sometimes become a field of interest for economic experts (Capps ve Carlin 2014: 265–280).

Becoming a favored product in popular culture, the Tooth Fairy has started to appear in party costumes or toys such as "tooth box" and "tooth pillow" created for the fallen milk teeth. In 1994, the Tooth Fairy became widespread in Europe when Barbie launched the first Tooth Fairy Barbie. As children's movies and books started increasing from the 2000s, the Tooth Fairy became a dominant figure in the farewell rituals of milk tooth (Blair 1980: 691–694, Capps and Carlin 2014: 265–280).

At this point, it is important to mention the relationship between consumption and culture. Özdemir (2007: 241–252) points out that the relationship between consumption, culture and production can meet altogether in the term "culture industry". The culture industry is about controlling the masses by providing products for their consumption. The internet, which is both a cultural field and a product, constitutes the basic context of the cultural economy of the new era. All kinds of cultural products are easily promoted, marketed and consumed with the help of social networks. The media, the most effective weapon of the culture industry, can be influential on the cultural structure of the society (Özdemir 2007:241–252). Considering the consumer goods such as books, costumes, toys and boxes, it is possible to say that the Tooth Fairy also falls into scope of the culture industry.

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CONCLUSION

Cultural change is defined as the material and spiritual changes in a society's culture. Although cultures are based on continuity, they are not static and therefore can change by the effects of globalization (Düzgün 2019:73). Some traditions of Turkish culture are also subject to change over time. If we take a closer look at dental folklore, it is possible to see such a change. The prominent wish for the child is to have healthy and strong teeth in the rituals of the Turkish culture, whereas in the American society, the child receives money from the Tooth Fairy. In other words, the "spiritual element" is evident in the tradition of Turkish culture, while the "material element" is evident in the tradition of American culture. Due to the increasing Western influence on local cultures in the globalized world and the effects of the culture industry, the Tooth Fairy has started to gain acceptance in Turkey while bringing the concern that national cultural values may be forgotten.

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SHORT-TERM WEATHER FORECAST REFLECTED IN ROMANIAN FOLK AND SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATIONS

GACEU OVIDIU RĂZVAN

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to collect and systematise the information, gathered by folklorists and ethnographers in the 19th–20th centuries, regarding the weather forecast made by the Romanian peasant, in order to emphasise, once more, his creative ability of analysis and synthesis and whose observations on the weather collected from ancient times have been confirmed by much later science. Thus, it has been found that similarities can be established between short-term weather forecast based on the scientific method focused on the observation and interpretation of meteorological values (air pressure, air humidity, nebulosity, wind direction and speed, optical, electric and acoustic phenomena) and the folk forecast, which involves observing the behaviour of humans, plants, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, peculiarities of the sky, working tools and other household items, thus highlighting the trueness of traditional folk observations. Therefore, long before the regional and national weather forecasting system, involving a large network of meteorological stations, specially trained employees, complex and expensive equipment, etc., the weather was forecasted by the Romanian peasant based on the information derived from personal and ancestral experience, his artisanal method often offering accurate results on the weather aspect in the near future, at least for the territory where he lives, comparable to the information obtained from the daily weather reports issued by the specialised institute.

Keywords: weather forecast, short term, folk observations, scientific observations, similarities, Romania.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the earliest times, people have been preoccupied with weather and climate, a component of the environment in which they lived, both to understand it and to predict it, as their life was bound to the earth whose crops mainly depended on the geographical environment in which they lived, and where climate was an important factor, as an average of the weather conditions that corresponded more or less to the season in which the farming was done.

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"The peasant's life is connected to the earth that he ploughs, sows and reaps. It is natural that his whole attention, the spirit of observation to be directed towards knowing the secrets of nature, the phenomena that promote or destroy his work. He lacked a certain guidance of certain signs, from which to deduct 'the flow of the weather. In the absence of clues, he had to look for them. Whole generations, for centuries, have noticed everything that surrounds them, and then, from changes, often extremely insignificant, they have established certain signs, often astonishingly precise, to "forecast the weather". From the animals around the house, his working companions, up to the beasts in the mountains, and from his working tools up to the stars in the sky, all these have drawn his attention, and then, in turn, all these became guidance, a counsellor." (Gherman, 1928, 2002).

Thus, long before the national and regional weather forecasting system, which implies a large network of weather stations, special training of the employees, complex and expensive equipment, etc., the weather was predicted by man based on information derived from personal and ancestral experience, observing the sky, natural phenomena, how animals and plants are displayed and the particularities of the working tools and other household items.

We would expect that the local peasant's observations on the weather in the coming days would not be always very precise because he uses only the visual and sensory information gathered from a narrow observation area in which the horizon is bordered, so that he knows only a little of the general condition of the atmosphere and which, of course, only provides him a small part of the meteorological message on a large surface, the locals lacking the ability to compare their information with those in nearby or remote areas, as the forecast meteorologist does; the latter benefits both from data inside and outside the country, with more and more up-to-date technical means of calculating the weather characteristics and its evolution in the forthcoming period.

However, the artisanal method of the Romanian peasant often gives accurate results on the weather aspect in the near future, at least for the territory in which he lives, comparable to the information obtained from the daily weather reports issued by the specialised institute, which generally predict the evolution of the weather in the following hours and days on large and varied surfaces, differently positioned from the Carpathian landscape, reports that cannot predict in detail some local phenomena, perceived by a connoisseur and attentive person to the universe where he lives his life.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The purpose of this paper is not to bring new information on the weather forecast made by the anonymous Romanian peasant by artisanal means, even if they could be really useful. It is difficult to find this type of information nowadays in the concerns of the villagers, due to the process of general modernisation of life, including the rural world. Still, some interesting results could be obtained by

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studying the archives of parishes, private notes, personal journals, or even some information from observers at the weather stations, as they were published in the Reports of the Meteorological Institute for the first decades of the 20th century. We try to collect and systematise the information gathered by the folklorists and ethnographers who have dealt with this subject in the 19th and 20th centuries, thus further emphasizing the creative ability of the Romanian peasant to synthetize and summarise, his observations on the weather gathered from ancient times being confirmed by the science that appeared much later. To this end, only information derived from short-term observations with *predictive role* was selected and presented, general information that might have been derived from old customs, traditions, or myths being put aside. Also, for the time being, the long-term weather forecast observations, also performed in the Romanian villages, have been eliminated, observations that allowed a general configuration of the forecast for the coming year, as well as the identification of more frequent periods of climate anomalies during different seasons of the year.

In this regard, using the new information in Romania on weather forecast based on folk and scientific observations, we have tried to present as much as possible, in the mirror, the results obtained by the two methods (scientific and empirical-artisanal). In this way, it is as clear as possible that the simple but logical observations of the Romanian people presented in ancient works of Romanian researchers, ethnographers and folklorists (Gherman, 1928, second edition in 2002; Burada, 1882; Ispirescu, 1882; Hodoş, 1892; Marian, 1883, 1890, 1892, 1898–1901, 1903; Iarnik, Bârseanu, 1885; Teodorescu, 1885, Haşdeu, 1887–1898; Pop–Reteganul, 1888; Şăineanu, 1895, 1896; Niculiţă-Voronca, 1903; Ţiplea, 1906; Otescu, 1907; Pamfile, 1909, 1910, 1916; Rădulescu-Codin, Mihalache, 1909; Păsculescu, 1910; Viciu, 1914 etc.) or more recent ones (Jiga Iliescu, 2013; Ghinoiu, 2017; Ilieş and collab. 2016; Ilieş and collab. 2017; Croitoru and collab., 2018 etc.) have been confirmed by much later scientific findings that were imposed due to greater detail and accuracy (Topor, 1957, 1964; Topor and collab. 1967; Şorodoc, 1961; Stoica, 1965; Stăncescu, Ballif, 1974,1976; Bogdan, Niculescu, 1999; Enache, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Ion-Bordei, Taulescu, 2008; Teodoreanu, 1988, 2002, 2004–2005, 2011; Teodoreanu, Rădulescu, 2000; Teodoreanu and collab., 2009; Teodoreanu, Gaceu 2013 etc.).

It should also be emphasized that some meteorologists did not limit to the instrumental data from weather stations transmitted to the Meteorological Institute and mathematically and graphically processed, but they also used folk and personal information or data from readings, taking over and possibly scientifically explaining what the inhabitant without any special training but with the sense of observation and selective memory has retained and passed on from his life experience in order to foresee the weather manifestations in the near future, for the specific purpose of their use in agriculture (the beginning or the completion of agricultural activities) or defending the crops and possibly the living creatures near

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his home (in times of destructive phenomena: drought, storm, torrential rain, blizzard, frost etc.). In this regard, it is worth mentioning the work of the great scientist, the meteorologist Nicolae Topor (1911–1987) who, besides drawing up synoptic maps and interpreting them for short and long-term weather forecast, he also held conferences, wrote articles, some of which were published in magazines and important newspapers, as well as books, some published posthumously, in which he carefully noted and interpreted some folk observations. We shall mention some of the works: *Meteorologia turistică* [Tourism meteorology], 1957, extremely useful for the hiker who crosses especially the montane level, *Fenomene meteorologice în opera lui Mihail Sadoveanu* [Meteorological phenomena in the works of Mihail Sadoveanu], 2005 (the writer, a non-specialist but an intuitive person in meteorology, and a fine connoisseur of the soul and life of the Romanian peasant) or *Atmosfera și viața omului* [Atmosphere and human life], 2007, a true human biometeorology treaty.

3. RESULTS

As a result of the analysis performed, it was found that similarities can be established between the results of the weather forecast made by the scientific method and the folk method, similarities pointed out especially with regard to the weather forecast based on the parameters of the meteorological elements: air temperature, air pressure, air humidity, the nebulosity, the wind, the optical, electric and acoustic phenomena, but also those resulting from the behaviour of humans, plants, animals, birds, insects, peculiarities of the sky, working tools and other household objects, thus highlighting the authenticity of traditional folk observations.

3.1. Weather forecast based on indications related to air humidity

The scientific method starts from the operating principle of the hygrometer, which is a relative air humidity measurement instrument; it makes use of hair which stretches when the humidity is higher and shortens when humidity is lower. While analysing the daily and hourly mathematical values of humidity, N. Topor (1957) has reached some conclusions that allowed him to set some rules on weather forecast based on the humidity values obtained from weather stations:

- if the humidity is less than 60% and it is decreasing, the weather will be fine, and if it is more than 70% and it is rising, the weather will be rainy[1];
- if at midday the air humidity is higher than in the morning, the weather will be rainy[2];
- if the evening humidity is 80–90%, clear sky and gentle wind, fog will form in the morning[3];

[1] Topor 1957: 144.
[2] *Ibidem*.
[3] *Ibidem*.

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- if humidity exceeds 80–90% and it rains or the sky is very dark, but the value of humidity decreases, the weather will improve[4].

The folk method cannot refer directly to the humidity values of the air, but it indicates the change of weather based on the effects it has on some objects and working tools and the way birds, animals, insects and plants manifest:

- hens[5], sparrows[6] and swallows bathing in the dust signals the arrival of rain, because the water vapours in the air being in a higher concentration penetrate into their fine feathers and this disturbs them;
- cattle that smell the air, raise their heads up and breathe heavily[7], also because of the air loaded in humidity, also announcing the change of weather;
- the spider that gathers the web[8] because it becomes heavier as a result of being loaded with water vapours;
- the rainy weather is also announced by the darkening of the wheat straws, even if they are under sunlight, the haystack that is soft to touch, the forest that is darker so that it seems to look black, the leaves of the trees and the plants that bend[9] due to the high concentration of water vapours in the atmosphere;
- if the flowers and the crops are joyful, the rain will come, and if they are lifeless, there will be a drought[10];
- the windows are damp[11];
- the fire does not burn[12], the smoke returns back to the chimney[13] or spreads on the ground[14] instead of rising;
- if during winter the fire burns well in the stove and rumbles, the night will be clear and cold (frost), and if the wood cracks inside the fire, it will rain[15];
- if soot falls from the chimney, it will rain[16];
- if the sheep skin (sheepskin coat) becomes hard, it will be fine weather and if the sheep skin will be soft, it will rain[17];
- if the peasant shoes are really tight, it will be a lovely weather[18];

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[4] *Ibidem.*
[5] Frîncu and Candrea, 1888: 121.
[6] Pamfile 1916: 104.
[7] Gorovei 1915: 368; Gherman 2002: 12.
[8] Gherman 2002: 28.
[9] *Ibidem*: 29.
[10] *Ibidem*: 28.
[11] Zanne 1895: 306; Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925: 119; Marian 1898: 119.
[12] Marian 1898: 119.
[13] Gorovei 1915: 377.
[14] Voronca 1903: 929.
[15] Gherman 2002: 39–40.
[16] *Ibidem*: 40.
[17] *Ibidem*: 39.
[18] *Ibidem.*

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- if the sun shines, the blade of the scythe shines and sends red rays, the weather will be good, and if the rays are green, it will rain[19];
- if the axe shines, the weather will be good, and when its wooden handle does not slip into the hand, the weather will be rainy[20];
- if the rope of the bell stiffens and shortens, it means it will rain[21];
- if the yoke of the cattle shines, the weather will be fine[22];
- if the windows, the stone walls steam up[23] (condensation occurs), it will be rainy;
- if the door gutter, the bed, the chair, etc. squeak no more or less, it will rain[24]; the door hinges are swollen and cannot be opened anymore[25];
- if the burning candle flows, it will be rainy[26];
- if the bacon rind softens or is even dripping[27] or the bacon, being salty, starts to get wet[28] it will rain;
- if the burning embers make sounds inside the stove, it will be windy, ugly weather[29];
- if salt is dry, it will be clear and sunny weather, and if it is wet, it will rain[30];
- if a special piece of salt (salt heart) placed on the beam of the house is dripping, it means that on that day it will rain[31].

3.2. Weather forecast based on indications given by nebulosity

The clouds are among the best predictors of the weather because, aside from indicating the wind movement up high, thus highlighting the direction from which a mass of air (generally warm, from the south, or cold from the north) comes, they generate precipitation, so knowing their appearance and characteristics helps a lot in forecasting the weather in the next hours and even days.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, *science* inventoried and catalogued all the clouds, dividing them according to altitude, shape, colour, microphysics structure into levels, families, types, species, varieties, additional peculiarities and appendix-clouds, and found that they generally do not

[19] *Ibidem*.
[20] *Ibidem*.
[21] *Ibidem*.
[22] *Ibidem*.
[23] *Ibidem*; Marian 1898: 119.
[24] Gherman 2002: 39.
[25] Pamfile 1916: 104.
[26] Gherman 2002: 40.
[27] *Ibidem*.
[28] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, VI: 63.
[29] Gazeta Bucovinei [Bucovina Newspaper] 1894, nr. 67.
[30] Gherman 2002: 41; Voronca 1903: 928; Marian 1898: 119; *Şezătoarea* [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV:120.
[31] Gherman 2002: 41.

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appear in the sky independently, but are associated in groups that form cloudy systems which contain many types of clouds that occupy very large areas (frequently exceeding the surface of Romania). The succession of cloud associations is typically characteristic for baric depressions, consisting of a cold air mass, followed by a warm front, which separates it from a warmer air mass, separated in turn by a cold front, which separates it from another cooler air mass, each front being accompanied by a certain string of clouds.

Generally, a cloudy system has an ovoid shape and presents four main parts, each of them determining a certain type of weather. Thus, *the head of the system* (the front of the cloudy system) is made of high-level clouds, Cirrus, Cirrocumulus and/or Cirrostratus, thin and transparent clouds, over 6000–7000 m altitude and made of ice crystals through which the sun and the moon are seen, which do not generate precipitation, but announce their arrival in the next two to three days. Precipitations are brought by *the body of the system* made of medium and low-level clouds, located below 6000 m, namely Altostratus, Altocumulus, Stratocumulus, Nimbostratus and Stratus, some of which are dark due to ice crystals and water droplets, through which, usually, one cannot see the sun or the moon. *The tail of the system* consists of vertically-developed isolated piled up clouds, called Cumulus and Cumulonimbus, consisting of ice crystals and water droplets; those that are white when seen from a distance and dark-grey, even violet-blue, when they are located above the observer and can cause precipitation in the form of shower. *The edges of the system* are made of isolated high clouds (Cirrus) or medium ones (Altocumulus) which do not cause any change in the weather aspect, but only partial and transitory overcast.

Between two cloudy systems, the sky is kept clear or small clusters of clouds (Cumulus humilis, Cumulus mediocris) appear, and in the morning, especially in autumn and winter, fog is formed.

Knowing the clouds (types, species, varieties), and the cloudy systems they associate with, systematically following them in the sky, scientists can predict the weather with great chances of success. Topor (1957), studying the data from the weather stations and the configuration of the fronts established on the synoptic maps, but observing himself the evolution of the cloudy system in the sky, had elaborated rules of weather forecast useful for tourists:

- the appearance of Cirrus uncinus clouds on the background of a clear sky, announces the change of weather in no more than three days, and if they move quickly in the sky, the weather becomes rainy even the next day[32];
- if the sky is quickly covered with a web of Cirrostratus clouds, the rain will start in less than 24 hours, and if they move slower, the weather will change within 48 hours[33];

[32] Topor 1957: 147.
[33] *Ibidem*.

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- when the sky is covered with several layers of clouds, some above moving in one direction, and the others moving in the opposite direction, the rain will begin in a few hours or minutes, such as the case of a web of Altostratus opacus clouds below which Stratus fractus clouds are moving in the opposite direction[34];
- if the wind blows from one direction and the clouds move in the opposite direction, the weather will change in a few hours [35];
- if the castellanus species appears in the blue sky, in a few hours there will be a rainstorm or hailstorm in the summer [36];
- if at 9:00 a.m. or 10:00 a.m. Cumulus mediocris clouds appear, it is very likely for showers to occur in the afternoon[37];
- if Cumulus humilis or Cumulus mediocris clouds appear in the afternoon, towards the evening and the rays of the sun colour them in pink or green, the next several days will bring heavy rain[38];
- when Cirrus or Cirrostratus clouds are coming from the east, the weather will warm up and become fine[39];
- if by nightfall there are all kinds of clouds in the sky, at different heights, rainy weather will last[40];
- if the fog or the clouds do not come down in the valleys during the evening, but cling to the top of the mountains, the next day it will rain[41];
- if in the morning the numerous clouds that rise from the valleys do not turn into Cumulus, but they flatten or fall apart because of the strong wind from altitude, that day it will not rain[42];
- if in the morning the sky is off-white, not dark blue, there is misty air, mild wind and strong sun, in the afternoon of that day it will rain in showers accompanied by electric discharges[43].

The Romanian peasant did not concern about classifying the clouds and he was not in a position to study their details (the microphysics, the quantity of water vapours contained, etc.), but by analysing their shape, colour, size and direction of movement, he reached conclusions similar to those obtained scientifically (recorded by us in brackets), rain being announced if:

- wavy clouds named in folk culture *little lambs* or *little sheep*[44] appear (*castellanus* species);

[34] *Ibidem*.
[35] *Ibidem*: 148.
[36] *Ibidem*.
[37] *Ibidem*.
[38] *Ibidem*.
[39] *Ibidem*.
[40] *Ibidem*.
[41] *Ibidem*.
[42] *Ibidem*.
[43] *Ibidem*.
[44] Gherman 2002: 32.

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- the clouds are yellowish and come from the east in the afternoon[45];
- at dawn, the clouds appear in the sky like scrolls, ropes, waves[46] (*undulatus* species);
- clouds are coloured in red in the morning[47];
- clouds are thin and cover the sky entirely[48] (*Cirrus, Cirrostratus, Cirrocumulus* types);
- clouds are very low in the evening[49] (*Stratus, Nimbostratus* types);
- clouds stay longer above valleys[50];
- the clouds are near the ground (it will drizzle)[51] (*Stratus, Nimbostratus* types);
- in summer, when it is really hot, the clouds in the sky are wavy[52] (*Cumulus, Cumulonimbus* types);
- in winter if the clouds move towards west, it will snow a lot[53];
- presence in the sky of small and red clouds or a circle around the moon or the sun[54] (*Cirrus, Cirrostratus* types that generate the halo effect);
- at sunrise, imposing clouds appear in the sky[55] (*Cumulus, Cumulonimbus* types);
- if the clouds move from east to west, it will rain, and if, after rain, the clouds move from east to west, the weather will be fine[56];
- the clouds move in the opposite direction from where the wind blows to the ground[57];
- the clouds move very fast[58];
- at sunset the clouds are red or yellow[59];
- there is a string of clouds in the clear sky at sunset or at dawn[60];
- the sky is clear and the train is heard from a large distance, it will rain within two days[61].

[45] *Ibidem*.
[46] *Ibidem*.
[47] *Ibidem*.
[48] *Ibidem*.
[49] *Ibidem*.
[50] *Ibidem*.
[51] *Ibidem*.
[52] *Ibidem*.
[53] *Ibidem*: 33.
[54] *Ibidem*.
[55] *Ibidem*.
[56] *Ibidem*.
[57] Zanne 1895: 344.
[58] *Ibidem*.
[59] Marian 1898: 121.
[60] Pamfile 1916: 63.
[61] Gherman 2002: 33.

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3.3. Weather forecast based on wind direction and speed

Wind, depending on its direction and speed, indicates the weather forecast; *the Romanian meteorologists*, represented by one of their most prominent representative, Nicolae Topor (1957), have set the following rules:

- when the sky is clear or slightly cloudy, the air is cold and the wind is blowing mildly without a precise direction in the morning, the weather will remain fine[62];
- if the air is warm and the sky is clear and the wind blows mildly in the morning, during the afternoon showers (in the summer) or fog (in the winter) will be present[63];
- if the wind blows from one direction at the base of the mountain and from opposite direction on the ridge in the morning, the weather will change in a few hours[64];
- if weather is warm and clear in the morning, and the wind blows hard in the southern sector, the weather will be fine for several days[65];
- if it is cold, it rains or snows and the wind blows hard from the south, grey weather will last for several days[66];
- if the weather is fine, but the wind that blows from the north-west is getting stronger, the weather will become rainy in summer and snowstorm will be present in winter[67];
- if the weather is grey, the temperature decreases and the wind keeps blowing from the north-west, the weather will keep its characteristics[68];
- if the weather is grey, but the wind is spinning and blowing from the north and north-east, the weather will improve[69];
- if the weather is fine and the wind blows hard or moderate from the northern sector for several days, the weather will keep its characteristics in the coming days[70];
- in general, strong winds from the north-west bring rain in the summer and snow in winter; the south-west wind keeps the weather nice or improves the rainy weather; the south and south-west wind maintains dry and warm weather, and if the weather is rainy, it keeps its characteristics; the east and north-east wind keeps dry weather, and if it rains, this improves it for a short period of time; the wind from the north brings bad weather that lasts for several hours, after which the weather clears for a longer period of time[71].

[62] Topor 1957: 149.
[63] *Ibidem*.
[64] *Ibidem*.
[65] *Ibidem*: 150.
[66] *Ibidem*.
[67] *Ibidem*.
[68] *Ibidem*.
[69] *Ibidem*.
[70] *Ibidem*.
[71] *Ibidem*.

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Following the direction and speed of the wind, *the anonymous Romanian peasant* has set similar rules:

- if the wind blows from the east it brings rain, and if it blows from the west it brings drought and dryness in summer and frost in winter[72];
- if the wind blows up high (on the hills), it brings rain, and if it blows on the ground (in the plain), it brings good weather[73];
- if the wind blows hard and raises the dust off the road, it brings rain[74];
- if the wind blows for a long time, in different directions, after it stops, the rain comes[75];
- if the wind is warm, it brings rain[76];
- if the wind blows in the morning, it indicates fine weather[77];
- if the wind raises the dust up straight is a sign of drought, and if it raises dust oblique, it is a sign of rain[78];

Also, the peasant was also interested in predicting whether it will be windy (by wanting to take action in order to avoid damages caused by the wind) based on the following signs, which also announced the arrival of rain, because it usually comes with wind:

- at sunset the sky is red[79] or the clouds that surround the sun are red[80];
- in the morning, before sunrise, the sky is red at the horizon[81];
- the moon is surrounded by circles[82];
- the rainbow is more red[83];
- sheep fight and smash their heads[84];
- the cat scratches the mat or bed cover[85] or jumps and plays throughout the house[86];
- the skylark sings a lot[87];
- swallows slowly fly up to the clouds[88];
- the heron sings[89];

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[72] Gherman 2002: 30.
[73] *Ibidem*.
[74] *Ibidem*.
[75] *Ibidem*.
[76] *Ibidem*.
[77] *Ibidem*.
[78] *Ibidem*.
[79] Marian 1898: 119.
[80] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, VI: 62.
[81] Marian 1898: 119.
[82] Pamfile 1916: 56.
[83] *Ibidem*.
[84] Marian 1898: 121.
[85] Ion Creangă 1910: 44.
[86] Gorovei 1915: 368.
[87] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119.
[88] Marian 1898: 119.
[89] Pamfile 1916: 57.

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- the rooster crows in the evening[90];
- the birds of prey fly sharply[91];
- the bees are active even during the night in the bee yard[92];
- the man feels an itch without a known cause[93] or ear burning sensation[94];
- the embers are making noise in the stove[95];
- the fire makes noise in the stove[96];
- cows are running[97], hitting each other when walking or coming back from the water or when mooing and looking up[98];
- the clouds are red at sunset[99];
- sparrows flock on garbage and make noise[100];
- the forest is humming loudly[101];
- pigs carry garbage in their mouths to make their bed[102].

3.4. Weather forecast based on observations regarding the optical, electric and acoustic phenomena

The scientific observations on the weather indications given by the optical, electric and acoustic phenomena have been synthesised in numerous papers by Romanian meteorologists (Topor, 1957; Şorodoc, 1961; Stoica, 1965; Stăncescu, Ballif, 1974, 1976 etc.), all of which can be explained by the laws of physics, but we cannot deny that some observations have also been taken from the direct experience of the meteorological technician, recorded in the meteorological report, in papers or transmitted orally. Generally, based on these observations, *Romanian scientists* appreciate that rainy weather is announced by:

- the clouds coloured in intense copper colour at sunrise[103];
- the sunset in a burst of purple-burgundy tones, among various coloured clouds: yellow, red or purple[104];
- purple or burgundy sky at the horizon and intensely coloured clouds at sunrise, and the fog that rises to the heights gradually over the peaks of the mountains and it is not scattered[105];

[90] *Ibidem*.
[91] Marian 1898: 121.
[92] *Ibidem*.
[93] Pamfile 1916: 57.
[94] Marian 1898: 121.
[95] Pamfile 1916: 57.
[96] *Ibidem*.
[97] *Ibidem*.
[98] Gorovei 1915: 368.
[99] Pamfile 1916: 57.
[100] *Ibidem*: 58.
[101] Gorovei 1915: 381.
[102] Pamfile 1916: 58.
[103] Topor 1957: 150–151.
[104] Stăncescu and Ballif 1976: 95.
[105] *Ibidem*: 92.

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- the tops of the mountains that are covered towards evening with fog caps that last until the next day[106];
- the sun that seems bigger than usual at sunset and the clouds around it are coloured differently[107];
- the moon that rises pale and even bigger in the evening than usual among the clouds arranged in horizontal strips (*undulatus* species) which are gradually expanding[108];
- the moon which is surrounded by a large luminous circle (halo) or a smaller coloured circle (crown)[109];
- the stars that shine bright and all the sky is full of stars that can be seen very good on the serene nights, with no moon[110];
- the rapid sound propagation, respectively when we easily hear each other, although the distance between us is great[111] (Topor, 1957; Şorodoc, 1961; Stoica, 1965; Stăncescu, Ballif, 1974, 1976 etc.).

Fine weather is announced by:

- the milky white on the horizon before sunrise and brighter and more colourful in orange at sunrise[112];
- the wind that mildly blows, towards the peaks of the mountains, carrying the thin waves of fog on the bedrocks[113];
- chilly morning, with clear sky, gentle breeze, with no precise direction[114];
- the dark blue colour of the sky at noon[115];
- the quick fog dispersal in the morning, without any cloud formation[116];
- the bright sun that sets in the evening in a sky coloured in red or yellow-orange[117] (Topor, 1957; Şorodoc, 1961; Stoica, 1965; Stăncescu, Ballif, 1974, 1976 etc.).

Since ancient times the humankind was concerned with the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, the weather information they could give, so the observations collected from the *Romanian peasants* are numerous, many of which can be scientifically explained. Below you will find a summary of the information collected on site:

- if the sun appears bigger than usual at sunrise, it will rain[118];

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[106] *Ibidem*: 95.
[107] *Ibidem*.
[108] *Ibidem*.
[109] *Ibidem*: 96.
[110] *Ibidem*.
[111] *Ibidem*.
[112] *Ibidem*: 91.
[113] *Ibidem*.
[114] *Ibidem*.
[115] Topor 1957: 151.
[116] *Ibidem*.
[117] *Ibidem*.
[118] Gherman 2002: 36.

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- if the sky is clear at sunrise, but immediately gets covered by clouds, it will rain[119];
- if the sky turns red at sunset and gets either dark red, the wind will blow, and if it is red-yellowish, it will rain[120];
- if before sunrise the sky is red, it will rain[121];
- if the sun rays bend to the west at sunrise, it means it will rain[122];
- if the sun rays appear gloomier, and the sun has a reddish colour, it will rain, with electric discharges accompanied by hail[123];
- if the sun is surrounded by a shiny circle, if it burns, it will rain[124];
- if the sun is blurry, the weather will be soft[125];
- if the rays of the sun are burning bright, it will rain, and if they burn intensely before noon, it will rain in the afternoon[126];
- if at twilight clouds or a thin cloud appears in the sky, it will rain, but if after sunset the clouds scatter, it will not rain[127];
- if the image of the sun is doubled ("two suns") in the sky, it will rain, and if it is tripled ("three suns"), there will be a drought[128];
- if during the day the sky was cloudy and it was raining, and in the evening, at sunset, the clouds are scattered, but the sun is red, the rainy weather will last for several days[129];
- if at sunrise you see sun dog, it will rain[130];
- if moon appears to be yellow, the weather will be fine, but if the moon will be red, it will be windy[131];
- if one can see the moon well, the weather will be fine, but if the moon is seen blurry, if it is dark, then it will rain[132];
- if the new moon is very bent with the horns up, it will be drought, if stretched it will be soft weather, and if it has the horns facing down towards the ground, it will rain[133];
- if the new moon rises lower than the previous evening, it will rain[134];

[119] *Ibidem*: 35.
[120] *Ibidem*.
[121] *Ibidem*.
[122] *Ibidem*.
[123] *Ibidem*: 36.
[124] Marian 1898: 119; Gorovei 1915: 375.
[125] Gherman 2002: 36.
[126] *Ibidem*.
[127] *Ibidem*.
[128] *Ibidem*: 36–37.
[129] Gazeta Bucovinei [Bucovina newspaper] 1894 nr. 67, 79.
[130] *Ibidem*.
[131] Gherman 2002: 37.
[132] *Ibidem*.
[133] *Ibidem*.
[134] *Ibidem*.

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- if the new moon has the horns facing towards west, the weather will be soft, and if it has one horn oriented towards the ground and the other one up, it will rain[135];
- if the new moon has a horn facing east and one towards the sunset, and the rest ("bells") to the west, it will rain for a while[136];
- if a bright circle appears around the moon, it will rain, and the closer the circle is to the moon, the sooner the rain will arrive and the further away, the fine weather will last longer[137];
- the way the day is before the appearance of a crescent moon, so will be the weather during the whole crescent moon[138];
- when there are lots of stars in the sky, it will rain[139];
- if the stars are numerous, small and bright, they announce great drought, and if the stars are numerous, small and relatively dim, it will rain even that night[140];
- if the stars are seen higher than usual, it will rain soon[141];
- if the morning star is red, it will rain[142];
- if the sky is red in the morning, it will rain[143];
- if the rainbow appears in the morning on fog with drizzle, and "if in the evening the rainbow can be seen in the east, if the mist is white and the clouds have the colour of the roses, of course it will be clear weather"[144];
- if the noise of the train sounds louder than usual[145];

3.5. Weather forecast based on atmospheric pressure observations

N. Topor (1957), based on data received from weather stations, the maps he made all by himself for more than twenty years, but also personal observations, shows that given that air pressure has different values depending on altitude and the time of year, the following rules on weather forecast can be set with the help of the barometer:

- if the pressure is high (above 600 mm, at sea level) and has remained constant over the last 24 hours or if it has increased by more than 1 mm, the weather will remain fine and warm, and if it was rainy, it will become dry[146];

[135] *Ibidem*.
[136] *Ibidem*.
[137] *Ibidem*: 37–38.
[138] *Ibidem*: 38.
[139] *Ibidem*.
[140] *Ibidem*.
[141] *Ibidem*.
[142] *Ibidem*.
[143] Marian 1898: 120.
[144] *Ibidem*: 120–121.
[145] Pamfile 1916: 104.
[146] Topor 1957: 137.

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- if the pressure is high (above 600 mm) but slowly decreases (by 1–2 mm in 24 hours), the weather will change over 2–3 days, the fact being also announced by the appearance of Cirrus uncinus and Cirrostratus clouds, at the same time as wind speed increases, therefore a warm front approaches[147];
- if the pressure is high (above 600 mm) but rapidly decreases (by 2–4 mm in 24 hours), the weather changes on the same day, namely heavy rain, accompanied by electric discharges, strong winds and sometimes hail, and in winter fog and snow occurs, that is, a cold front approaches[148];
- if the pressure is low (below 596 mm) and remains constant, the weather remains unchanged, generally misty and windy, or with temporary rain, and snow in winter, the temperature is lowered and the nights are very cold[149];
- if the pressure is lower (below 596 mm) and slowly decreases (by 1–2 mm in 24 hours), the weather continues to deteriorate, namely the temperature decreases, the wind is getting stronger, the mist thickens, the rain or the snow becomes more abundant[150];
- if the pressure is lower (below 596 mm) and rapidly decreases (by 3–4 mm in 24 hours), heavy rain is reported, accompanied by violent winds in the summer and blizzard in the winter, and also the sharp decrease of the air temperature[151];
- if the pressure is low and it rises only when it rains or snows, and when the precipitation stops, it starts to drop again, it means that the grey weather will last for several days[152];
- if the pressure is low but continuously and slowly increases (by 1–2 mm in 24 hours), it means the weather will improve in a few days, and if it is low and rapidly increasing (by 3–4 mm per day), it means the weather is going to clear up in a few hours, especially when the wind is spinning and blowing from the north or north-east[153];
- if the pressure ranges between 596 and 602 mm, the weather will be fine, with variable sky conditions, with hot days and cool nights and fog in the evening and in the morning[154];
- if the pressure is 10 mm above its normal value for that altitude and the wind blows from the south, the weather will be fine and warm for a long time, both in summer and in winter, and if the pressure is 10 mm lower than its normal value and the wind blows from the north-west, the weather will be misty, rainy and cold[155].

[147] *Ibidem*.
[148] *Ibidem*.
[149] *Ibidem*: 138.
[150] *Ibidem*.
[151] *Ibidem*.
[152] *Ibidem*.
[153] *Ibidem*.
[154] *Ibidem*.
[155] *Ibidem*: 138–139.

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As far as *the folk meteorology* is concerned, of course, *the Romanian peasant* did not have meteorological tools such as barometer, hygrometer, thermometer, etc. to ease his weather forecast, but the changes in temperature and especially the changes in *pressure* and humidity that announce the change of weather affect the manifestation of animals, birds, insects, reptiles, amphibians and fish, out of which he made significant findings regarding the change of weather. Thus, the arrival of rain is announced by:

- cattle that are in the field, they are not grazing, and if they are at home, they enter alone in the stable, also if they smell the air; when they drink water, if it flows from their mouth, they raise their heads, and then drink again; if they are herding when they are in the field and mooing or become agitated[156];
- horses lie down or run in the field or do not want to eat and stand preoccupied, head to head, or nod their heads[157];
- the agitated sounds made by the donkeys[158];
- sheep that eat a lot; walk with the heads down; shake or become agitated; rubbing fences; they flock together[159];
- goats staying in the shade for a long time[160];
- pig carrying straws in the mouth to the pigsty where it makes the bed of straws or playing with straw in his mouth[161];
- cat if it is cleaning itself and it is sleepy[162], if it grooms, if it walks on the roof of the house, or the haystacks[163], if it is frolic[164], jumping and playing throughout the house, scratching items[165];
- the dog that tears up the grass with the teeth or rolls over and sits on the back with his paws up or climbs on haystack or is agitated or tries to catch and eat dog flies or is digging holes[166];
- chickens flying on trees, on roofs of buildings or other tall objects, roosters that often crow during the day, in the evening before bedtime or even later[167];
- the mother hens clucking nervously and the chickens cackling[168];
- roosters crowing during the day[169] or early in the evening[170], all at the same time[171] or walk with their tails down[172];

[156] Gherman 2002: 12–13.
[157] Zanne Proverbele [The Proverbs] IX: 281; Pamfile 1916: 97.
[158] Gherman 2002: 14.
[159] *Ibidem*; Marian 1898: 121; Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119–120.
[160] Gherman 2002: 14.
[161] Gherman 2002: 15; Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119; Pamfile 1916: 102.
[162] Frîncu and Candrea 1888: 121; Voronca 1903: 929; Gorovei 1915: 189.
[163] Gherman 2002: 15–16; Marian 1903: 399; Pamfile 1916: 98.
[164] Voronca 1903: 929.
[165] Gorovei 1915: 368, 189.
[166] Gherman 2002: 15–16; Marian 1903: 399; Pamfile 1916: 98.
[167] Gherman 2002: 16–17.
[168] Pamfile 1916: 98.
[169] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119.
[170] Frîncu and Candrea 1888: 121.
[171] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, VI: 29.
[172] *Ibidem*.

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- geese and ducks playing in the water, flapping their wings or searching food greedily[173] or dust-bathing[174], or making noise[175] and being agitated[176];
- pigeons singing a lot[177];
- sparrows bathing in water or flying in flocks, chirping or chirping a lot in the trees, or flocking above the fields or bathing in the dust on roads or hiding under the eaves or getting up early in the morning[178];
- swallows flying close to the ground or touching water in flight or chirping while flying or leaving their nest early in the morning or flying under the cows or touching the walls of houses or flying near the house[179];
- thrush and other birds flying near the house[180];
- crows flying up and down or sitting angry on trees or crowing much in the evening or in the morning or sitting on tops of the trees or house roofs and hiding their beaks under the wings or bathing in the water[181] or flocking together and crowing[182] or flying against the wind[183];
- peacock singing ugly[184];
- the song of the strix[185]or the owl or the little owl[186];
- titmouse singing before the sunrise or when they sing all together, around the house or "when their song is like mourning, the weather is changing"[187];
- the cuckoo singing night or day [188];
- the storks gathering in large numbers in the field, or if they cover their offspring or clap their beaks[189] or if two-three fly and spin for a long time in a circle[190];
- the song of the kite or if the kite flies high and in circle during summer, screaming[191];
- frequent singing of the crake[192];

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[173] Gherman 2002: 17.
[174] Pamfile 1916: 100.
[175] Cosmulei 1909: 48.
[176] Marian 1898: 118.
[177] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 120.
[178] Gherman 2002: 18; Pamfile 1916: 104.
[179] Gherman 2002: 19; Frîncu and Candrea 1888: 121; Marian 1898: 118; Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, VI: 119.
[180] Marian 1903: 318-319.
[181] Gherman 2002: 19.
[182] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119.
[183] Voronca 1903: 929.
[184] Marian 1898: 119.
[185] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 120.
[186] Gherman 2002: 20; Cosmulei 1909: 48.
[187] Gherman 2002: 20; Gorovei 1915: 376.
[188] Gherman 2002: 20.
[189] Voronca 1903: 929.
[190] Gherman 2002: 21; Gorovei 1915: 376.
[191] Gherman 2002: 21.
[192] *Ibidem*.

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- the mountain hens that gather at the spring[193];
- the eagle looking tired and flying close to the ground[194];
- the hawk that follows the chicken[195] or crows[196];
- the days when the birds are bathing in dust or flying in flocks, near the ground or singing beautifully in the morning in the sunlight or sitting on thistles are generally considered by people as signs of "sure rain"[197];
- the fireflies flying and shining in the bushes[198];
- the flies that bite hard, upset the dogs and agitate them; they are gathering on the horns of the cattle; they fly agitated and tend to get into the eyes of humans and animals[199];
- bees that "swarm day and night in the bee yard"; in the morning they leave early to gather honey, but they do not fly far away and return early; (many of them) go back to the hives, and do not return to the field; they are attacking people; [200] "enter into the baskets until sunset or in the morning do not go too far until late", rush to the bee yard and swarm into the hive[201];
- ants that come out many from the anthill and seek food in a hurry[202]; walk on the road, on the anthill; get out of cracks, enter the house[203], get eggs and soil out of the anthill[204] or fly above[205];
- mosquitoes that bite hard; they appear during the day; in the evening if there are many, they are biting hard; many gather around the fire; they rotate above the ponds and fountains; they struggle with each other; tend to get into the eye; fly agitated up and down[206];
- ladybug flying in circle and buzzes[207];
- the dragonflies flying in large number over the rivers with reed[208];
- the water spiders gathering together[209];
- the crickets singing[210];

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[193] *Ibidem.*
[194] *Ibidem.*
[195] *Ibidem.*
[196] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, IV: 119; Marian 1898: 121; Voronca 1903: 928.
[197] Gherman 2002: 22.
[198] Marian 1903: 52.
[199] Gherman 2002: 22; Marian 1898: 118; Frîncu and Candrea 1888: 121.
[200] Marian 1898: 188.
[201] Gherman 2002: 23.
[202] *Ibidem*: 23–24.
[203] Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925 IV: 119; VI: 51; Pamfile 1916: 99–100; Marian 1903: 240–241.
[204] Gherman 2002: 23; Marian 1903: 240–241; Pamfile 1916: 100.
[205] Marian 1903: 241.
[206] Gherman 2002: 24; Marian 1903: 317–318, 328.
[207] Gherman 2002: 26.
[208] *Ibidem*: 27.
[209] *Ibidem.*
[210] *Ibidem.*

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- the spiders gathering their web[211];
- snakes and lizards coming out to light, on the road[212];
- the frogs loudly singing in the water, jumping into the water from the shore or going out in the gardens[213];
- fish jumping into the water; swimming at the surface of the water so they can be seen[214];
- the earthworms coming out on paths, on roads, in the garden[215];
- the puddles have a strong smell[216].

3.6. Weather forecast based on observations given by the medical condition and the human behaviour

Bioclimatic and climate-tourism studies etc. indicate that man is influenced by weather. The change of weather, the change of values of the meteorological elements that characterise it, determines manifestations specific to meteorosensitive persons, especially those affected by illnesses, generally chronic, and who, recognising their health changes, can make weather predictions that are generally good. We may add that variations in meteorological parameters, especially humidity and pressure, can also be reflected in the modification of some medical test results.

Thus, *rainy weather* is announced by:

- onset of rheumatic pain, worsening of seizures in asthmatic patients due to increased air humidity[217];
- heat, fatigue, skin itching, palpitations, difficult movements, irritation, shortness of breath, suffocation, headache and general malaise due to lower air pressure[218];
- headache, fatigue, dizziness, haemorrhage, irritability, high blood pressure, increased number of suicides and street deaths caused by fohn (warm wind) and migraines, insomnia, neuralgia, dryness of mucous membranes, dry cough for those who suffer from tuberculosis and asthma due to bora (cold wind)[219];
- agitation, nervousness, fatigue, insomnia, infections due to hot air masses[220] ;
- nervousness, irritability, decreased attention and concentration ability, insomnia, tachycardia, increased blood pressure, ESR, blood glucose, decreased pH, resistance to microbial agents due to warm front and/or decreased blood sugar,

[211] *Ibidem*.
[212] *Ibidem*: 28.
[213] *Ibidem*; Marian 1898: 119.
[214] Gherman 2002: 28; Marian 1898: 119.
[215] Gherman 2002: 28; Şezătoarea [Evening sitting of village women] 1925, VI: 51.
[216] Marian 1898: 120.
[217] Teodoreanu 2002: 93.
[218] Topor 1957: 52–57; Stăncescu, Ballif 1976: 11–12.
[219] B. de Rudder 1952; Licht 1964; Miller, 1968; Fraioli 1983 quoted by Teodoreanu 2002: 97–98.
[220] Tromp, 1963; Toat, 1980; Goldstein, 1980; Steiger, 1982 quoted by Teodoreanu 2002: 60.

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blood pressure, ESR, white blood cell count, onset of asthma attacks, rheumatic pain, respiratory problems, etc.[221];

Fine weather is announced by:

- good mood caused by cold and dry air, as well as drying of the nasal and pharyngeal mucosa, headaches and drowsiness caused by hot and dry air[222];
- increased blood circulation, feeling cold, mild breathing, the air that seems to be hard, the body refreshed due to the increase in atmospheric pressure[223];
- dehydration of the body, its lethargy, thirst due to drying of the nasal and oral mucosa caused by the hot and dry wind[224];
- state of tranquillity, calm, deep sleep, increased blood pressure, increased pH, increased activity of the central nervous and muscular systems due to anti-cyclonic air with low temperature and high pressure[225].

The Romanian peasant who lacks medical equipment and medical scientific knowledge, but he is aware of the old local traditions, related to the personal observation passed on from generation to generation, indicates the change of weather and the arrival of rain due to the occurrence of:

- rheumatic pain[226];
- hiccup[227];
- stings[228];
- pain caused by scars and calluses[229];
- back pain and lower back pain[230];
- pain in the legs[231] or leg burns[232];
- sweaty hands[233];
- unjustified fatigue and drowsiness[234];
- itching of the skin, nose, ears, heels without a known cause[235];
- unbearable burning heat[236].

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[221] Magyarossi, 1972 quoted by Teodoreanu 2002: 60–61.
[222] Topor, 1957: 74–75.
[223] *Ibidem*: 52.
[224] *Ibidem*: 108–109.
[225] Tromp, 1963; Tout, 1980; Goldstein, 1980; Steiger, 1982 quoted by Teodoreanu 2002 : 60.
[226] Gherman 2002: 11.
[227] *Ibidem*.
[228] *Ibidem*.
[229] *Ibidem*; Zanne 1895, IX: 273; Pamfile 1916: 97.
[230] Gherman 2002: 11; Frîncu and Candea 1888: 121.
[231] Gherman 2002: 11.
[232] Pamfile 1916: 102.
[233] Gorovei 1915: 376.
[234] Pamfile 1916: 103; Gherman 2002: 11.
[235] Pamfile 1916: 104; Voronca 1903: 928; Zanne 1895, IX: 356.
[236] Pamfile 1916: 101, 104.

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4. WEATHER FORECAST BASED ON OBSERVATIONS GIVEN BY THE MEDICAL CONDITION AND THE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

The Romanian peasant, living in the space around the Carpathians, for hundreds of years, a space in which he was born, he had lived his life day by day, earning his living "with the sweat of his forehead", that is to say, living from working the fields, the Romanian peasant has joined forces with the nature around him, with the field he was working on, from sowing to harvesting the crops, with the nearby forest and river, the animals around the house and beyond. Thus, he noticed the change of seasons, setting dates for the beginning and end of work outside the house, but he also noticed the daily weather variations, variations of the sky when clear and bright, with a mild and calm weather, favourable to everyday living, when covered by dark clouds, sometimes with unexpected rain with heat or cold waves, droughts, thunderstorms, blizzards, in a word, a weather unfriendly to life and work. Establishing a connection between the different signs of weather and the phenomena that followed, as well as the reaction of the animals, endowed with a natural intuition, to defend themselves against all kinds of weather conditions, the inhabitant of the earth tried and, as we have seen, has often managed to accurately "foresee" what will follow. He then passed on to his descendants the observations made from personal experience, and they carried forward the wisdom of their ancestors. Ethnographers and folklorists have gathered a rich treasure of folk 'meteorological' knowledge, similar, even if it was collected from different places, from outside or inside the Carpathians.

Sometimes the observations varied according to some local terrain features. For example, Traian Gherman notes that if the wind blows from the east, it brings rain, and if the wind beats from the west, it brings drought and dryness in the summer and freezing cold in winter, but he states that this fact is recorded near the city of Alba Iulia and he adds that in the city of Blaj, the west wind brings rain[237], fact scientifically explained by a local micro-geomorphology.

In general, the folk weather observations collected by ethnographers can be scientifically explained based on the physical laws of meteorology. For instance, Gherman notes that it will rain if wavy clouds traditionally called *little lambs* or *little sheep*[238] (and Topor states that these are Cirrus clouds[239] which appear before a warm front, announcing the change of weather over the next two days or the castellanus species indicating an air instability at that level and also precipitations) appear or if the clouds are very low in the evening (which means that Stratus or Nimbostratus clouds are stationary, in the warm front on the ground) etc.

Some observations regarding the colours of the sky at sunrise or sunset, or the larger size of the sun at sunrise, or the luminous circles around the sun or moon,

[237] Gherman 2002: 30.
[238] *Ibidem*: 32.
[239] Topor 1957: 67–68, 146–147.

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can be explained by the laws of reflection and refraction under conditions of humid atmosphere etc.

There are also few cases where some scenic data is retained only by coincidence (e.g. those related to the position of the moon's horn) without any scientific justification.

In general, however, the observations made by researchers in terms of weather forecast for the next hours or days prove to be accurate, enriching the folk treasure of our people.

If we add the attempts to forecast the weather for longer periods of time, winter or spring or even for the following year, we will get a more comprehensive and complex picture of Romanian people's knowledge, beliefs and customs in this field, some related to religious celebrations of the saints which 'are celebrated' for home abundance and health. It is important to stress the understanding and respect of the Romanian peasant for the environment, being a promoter of modern environmentalism, and these feelings are related to the strong feeling of religious belief, manifested, for example, by the translation into the popular language of the biblical phrase on the man's connection with the earth, as it was noted by Traian Gherman (2002): "when the man softens, it is a sign of rain because man softens just like earth is softened by rain, because man is made of earth"[240].

As we have mentioned, this is a rich folklore treasure carefully collected by researchers from the local informers, few elderly, teachers, priests, but even students, a treasure which, compared to the later scientific instrumental data, often proves to be amazingly accurate and useful, even today, not only for researchers, but also for those who enjoy hiking and nature lovers.

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[240] Gherman 2002: 11.

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THE IMAGE OF KING MIHAI I OF ROMANIA IN BESSARABIANS' POPULAR CULTURE

ALIONA GRATI

ABSTRACT

For those born between the Dniester and the Prut rivers during the period when it was part of the Soviet Union the kings of their predecessors were almost unknown. Denationalization policies, prohibitions on the historical past, the Romanian-phobic politics, the distorted truth of the Soviet historiography, the aggressive atheism and coercive measures of the totalitarian state had methodically destroyed the collective memory of Bessarabians about the royalty and kingship. What could not be said out aloud slipped into the structural depths of the artistic imaginary: in testimonies, legends and fairy tales. Artistic projections, as many as there were, had served as forms of resistance against the mechanisms of "brainwashing" instrumented by official communist historiography and, in addition to that, were means of preserving memory. This article presents a novel corpus of folk productions from the Bessarabian area, from the songs and legends to the intensely personal evocations of those times' direct witnesses (memorata), and the inherited stories of their descendants about their last King, Mihai I.

Keywords: collective imaginary, popular epic, literary folklore, kingship, King Mihai I, Bessarabia, Republic of Moldova, regional identity.

INTRODUCTION

The Bessarabians[1] respected their sovereigns profoundly. It was a powerful feeling, fixed by the long tradition of monarchical rule, which did not disappear in the modern era of kings. Especially after 1918, starting from school, children from this province, just like those from the whole kingdom, acquired, with the singing of the *Royal Hymn* (Imnul Regal) at the beginning of each lesson, the unwavering confidence in the sublime character of royalty. One could not easily forget, for

[1] The Bessarabians are the inhabitants of Bessarabia, a historical region in Eastern Europe, bounded by the Dniester River on the east and the Prut River on the west. Between 1918 and 1940; 1941 and 1944 Bessarabia was a province of The Romanian Kingdom. About two thirds of Bessarabia lies within the modern-day Republic of Moldova and the other third within Ukraine.

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example, Vasile Alecsandri's *10th of May* (10 Mai) accompanying, in the interwar period, any start of the school year, which, being drastically forbidden after the annexation of Bessarabia by the Soviet Union, became a piece of folklore. Even now, after so many years of interdiction, you can still meet Bessarabians of respectable age which are able to recite by heart the founding epic poem in miniature about the dismounting of Carol I on Romanian soil, without knowing the author of the text. Having an excellent memory at the age of 94, Efrosinia Sofronescu sings with great expressiveness, both the *King's Hymn* and *10 May*, as she heard them from her older brother, Ion, which learned them at school in 1939[2]. The myth of the good emperor did not disappear in the few decades of communism, it has survived in the memories and imagination of the inhabitants up until today.

The visits of the members of the royal family to Chişinău or anywhere else in the province left the eyewitnesses with unforgettable memories. The people were commenting and inventing stories and legends unraveled with reverence for many years after these events. In the popular imagination the deeds of the kings took on a fabulous nature and fueled the scripts of the stories that created a memorable mythology. Over the years under the communist regime, the mythology was indexed and wasn't able to evolve. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union no attention was given to the subject of royalty, the depositors of popular creations on this subject weren't encouraged from revealing them. In all likelihood, many interesting folklore pieces were lost with the deaths of the potential bearers of information. The present study is offering a novel repertoire of "modern" and "recent" folk (Eretescu 2004: 272–322) of exceptional value from the Bessarabian area, from the songs and legends to the intensely personal evocations of the direct witnesses of the time ("memorata", as they were called by prominent Swedish folklorist C.W. von Sydow) and the inherited stories of their descendants about their last King, Mihai I. The approach is justified, in the words of Ion Ianoşi, in order to "regenerate one's own authenticity", by the obligation to distinguish the original popular layers, to take note of the "collective and archaic rooting" (Ianoşi 1987: 69).

BESSARABIANS' EPIC OF KING MIHAI I

Mihai was honored and praised in the schools of Bessarabia, especially during his years of reign. The textbooks, school notebooks, newspapers and postage stamps of that time were first crowded with the images of the lovely child, then of the robust teenager involved in military or sports training activities, and finally of the young King Mihai. There were photos of the little king being held in the arms of Princess-Mother Elena in all of the classrooms. Their beautiful, noble, serene and enlightened with love faces touched everyone's hearts. For the most part, the mother has a discreet expression of sadness. On the other side, the face

[2] The sung version of Efrosinia Sofronescu has a few deviations from Vasile Alecsandri's texts.

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with the chubby cheeks of the little Mihai is rejoicing in innocence and lack of worry as he is surrounded by maternal love. The suffering and angelic patience of the mother in contrast to the overflowing vitality of the little one reminds of the icon of the Mother of God with her baby in her arms. This mystical association between the natural human body and the divine, eternal essence attributed to the monarchs was influenced by the medieval European thought (Kantorowicz 2016), which had, of course, left its mark on the collective mentality. People still held their respect to the royalty close to the feeling of piety.

The popular imagination was especially enhanced by Mihai's visits to Bessarabia. Folk productions related to this subject offer an alternative view to the institutionalized culture, of the press for example. On one hand, they reflect the collective knowledge of reality in the form of "commentary on people and more prominent aspects" (Bîrlea 1981: 46), on the other hand, they fold on the structure of the popular epic which is anchored in the sacred time of the faith and dictated by the archetypes of the imaginary. Even when faithfully recounting an authentic reality, the stories about King Mihai's visits develop sublime lyrical modulations and link the character to the most respected values of the collective imagination on the subject of royalty and the meanings of the symbol of the emperor (king): authority, education, culture, morality, dignity, balance, equidistance, stability and love for the country and God. In stories, Mihai always profiles as a positive character. The observations of the involved actors record the restrained character, good growth, the structural seriousness of the one who was to be their king twice. These make up the content for the "parables" with small reflections on high values, as pointed out by the Russian scientist Gurevich: "Let us not forget that those life examples, which demonstrates an indisputable capacity for observation of preachers, a subtle reaction to everyday reality and the total lack of the aristocratic tendency to ignore the «bottom» and «non-literary» of the unsightly daily, meaning that the truth about life, as it is, – that this material is intended not for itself nor to show people's lives in real conditions, but in connection with certain reflections on high values" (Gurevich 1989: 312).

King Mihai I visited Bessarabia more times than we would have imagined to be possible on a distance larger than five hundred kilometers as there are between Bucharest and Chişinău. It is true that the tours of the members of the royal family across the country, organized mainly to attend religious events, were in the spirit of the time, and Bessarabia could and should have been a priority in this regard as long as it was stalked by Eastern expansionists who had it escaped from their hands in 1918. His first official visit took place in June 1935, accompanying his father, Carol II. Initiating a series of trips in the eastern part of the country, in the cities of Hotin, Bălți and Chişinău, in order to strengthen the bond of the people with the monarchy after reunification, the sovereign wanted to be accompanied by his son.

It was the epoch in which kings were greeted with all joy and splendor in a well thought out and organized scenario. In order to inspire trust and reach the soul of the people, the actions of the ruler during the visits honored sacred, religious and civic

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rituals, which linked his reign on earth with that in heaven. The royal outings among the people respected the succession of elements of a mythological story, more understood by the pious community. It is not difficult to assume that the evocations of direct witnesses also keep this special way of anchoring in the horizon of spirituality. On 3 June 1935, Carol II and Mihai got off the train at the Chişinău station. It was a sunny and promising day. The King and the crown prince were received by the townspeople with due honor. The simple people from both sides of the street bathed them in affection and flowers. After a long while, in 2016, Valentina Savițchi from Chişinău still remembers well that emblematic image which was imprinted in her memory forever. In 1935 she was just a pupil and, along with some classmates, stood on Alexandrovskaya Street to greet the royal suite. And behold, a miracle has been revealed to her: "Carol was sitting in the car, next to the King was Mihai, he was small" (Savițchi 2016: 11). For many years, Valentina Savițchi has preserved a few photos with King Mihai and the whole royal family with devotion.

On 4 June 1935, Carol, Mihai and the members of the government traveled by car to Hînceşti city while being escorted by three planes, to visit the Manuc Bei Palace. According to Gheorghe Bezviconi, the King wanted to discuss the purchase by the state of the palace and the rest of Manuc Bei's wealth. In 2018, at the age of 93, Eudochia Grosu, a resident of Nimoreni village, remembers that exceptional event in detail. That day, together with other pupils of the local school, they were brought in an organized manner with the carts on the side of the road to greet the suite. She narrates, in an interview, with the delightful language of a peasant and the grace of a storyteller the story of how she saw the king and took a liking to the prince:

> "...he was in Hînceşti. A nobleman came and wanted to settle in Hînceşti so he went to the King and asked him for what he needed. But the King was tiny. He was 16 at the time[3]. When the nobleman died, or went elsewhere, his mother remained to live in those houses. And he ordered the King to come and receive the alms house ... with alms bread. Now when that day came, I was at school in the second grade. All the owners in Bessarabia were ordered, as it was called then, that people should go to the side of the road, because he would drive across the road, to go out and to see him. We also went here to Ialoveni, with the carriage. We waited for a long time. It can be seen that he came from afar, from the haggle. And then he crossed the road with the car uncovered and Mihai by his side. Both... And all of us started shouting «Hooray!», «Hooray». Well, here, he is coming! We lined up. Our teachers lined us up. And he was waving his hand to us. Then they went back. And this is how I saw the King! Then what can I say, my mother had a brother, just like my mother's brother was he in appearance."[4]

The miracle of how this woman survived until she was able to speak without danger of being deported to Siberia can only be compared to the miracle of her

[3] In June 1935, Mihai was not even 14 years old.

[4] Interview conducted by Zinaida Izbaş with Eudochia Grosu in the show "Life of memories, life of accomplishments" Radio Moldova, May 27, 2018.

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long lasting memory with which she remembered an event known by almost nobody today. This memory is all the more precious as it is for the time being the only testimony about the visit of the King and the Crown Prince to Manuc Bei's palace. At the same time, the memory aesthetically arranges his remembrance, transforming it into a story which, as Gilbert Durand points out, "ensures in the fluctuations of destiny the survival and evergreen of substance", whereas "any childhood memory, through the double power of the prestige conferred by the primordial lack of worries (...) is a work of art from the outset" (Durand 1998: 402). An eyewitness to the famous visit to Chişinău in 1935 was Valentina Sturza from the Ciuciuleni commune. Evoking the story at a distance of a lifetime (2017), it seems even more mysterious and fabulous. Unconsciously, she updates a chronotope, in the universe sense of the folk tale (Bahtin 1975: 296–301), still dependent on the structures of the popular epic, also cultivated on the propaganda productions of the Romanian Kingdom, such as *The Royal Hymn*, for example:

> "I have had the happiness in my life to see His Majesty King Mihai twice. The first time it was in the summer of 1935, when, together with His Majesty King Carol II of Romania, they visited the city of Chişinău and, on their return to Bucharest, passed through the town of Hânceşti, where they were greeted by a choir that sang the royal hymn: «Long live the King/ In peace and honor/ Lover of the country/ And defender of the country!». My father, who was decorated with the Golden Cross by His Majesty Carol II, approached and handed the King a bread, placed on a huge and beautiful traditional towel, having its lace crocheted around by my mother. His Majesty Carol II took the bread smiling, kissed it and gave it to the person accompanying him, greeted my father, shook his hand, spoke something to him, then greeted all the people, raising his hand. I looked closely at Prince Mihai, an extremely serious boy, dressed in a guard's uniform – suit and blue basque. He didn't smile even once."[5]

The sublime moment had a reply over the years. In 2006 Valentina Sturza met King Mihai I at the inauguration of the Romanian Soldiers Cemetery in Ţiganca village. Following her father's example, she honored her King by handing him a big bread placed on a handmade traditional towel.

On his second visit to Chişinău, on the 6 January 1940, the day of the Lord's Christening, Mihai managed to attract even more attention. Due to his desire to show the citizens his firm determination to defend the country's borders, King Carol II decided to spend his winter holidays among the military troops, starting with the Western border and ending in Chişinău. Prince Mihai accompanied his father during this holiday. This event also left memorable traces in the memories of the eyewitnesses. In 2003 Edit Rorer, a Jewish old lady, unraveled her story by assuming the role of narrator of an exceptional history, which goes beyond a simple evocation of an autobiographical episode:

[5] Valentina Sturza, 88 years old; from the Ciuciuleni commune; source: "National Newspaper", 06 December 2017.

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"What kind of day was it? It was around evening. The townspeople were walking along the boulevard. Something special was hovering in the air. «The King!!! Look, the King!!!». «Where is ? Where?», my friend and I were wondering, passing by the «Gallery» store. «Ladies, don't talk too loud!» A stern lady scolded us. «There he is, His Majesty!» said my friend Larisa Zabiranik in a low voice, raising her head brusquely. Emotions were stirring her. On the balcony of the town hall were two people: a tall, majestic man – King Carol II and the still very young, beautiful as a fairy tale prince, the successor Mihai. His Majesty was smoking his cigar, looking at the passing public that was greeting him, and Prince Voivode Mihai, as he was called then – God, how handsome he was! – he looked around with keen curiosity."[6]

The ladies of the city perceived Mihai as a young conqueror with a special physical endowment and admired him breathlessly. Many of them kept a photo of him hidden in a book or under their pillow. The comparison of the prince with a folk character taken from a fairy tale, with a Făt-Frumos on a winged horse was common at the time. Here is a verse with high circulation from that time:

"It sent him, to unite us
Again, the homeland – one Mihai
Young gentleman, royal vine
Făt-Frumos with blonde hair"[7]

The Prince Mihai had not even turned nineteen when Romania was forced to give up Bessarabia to the Soviet Union. On 22 June 1941, by order of Marshal Ion Antonescu, the Romanian Army crossed the Prut River to liberate the province. The issue of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina was a very popular desideratum, so the news triggered the general exaltation of the population. At least that's how it is understood from the newspapers of the time. But the most ravishing, the sincerest, and the most convincing are the testimonies of simple people who felt the war on their skin, who suffered and sublimated their suffering into oral creations. At least two military songs of exceptional value created around those years of war are invoking Mihai. In the first, the anonymous creator captures the drama of the Bessarabians, whose families were broken by the war that put enmity and hatred between brothers. In all likelihood, the song captures a situation specific to the time when local men were forced to fight against each other on enemy barricades. The King is asked, with slight hints of rebuke, to find the solution to stop this destructive battle. The first military song is called *Mother has four brothers*; the second text, entitled *Military song*, is a variant of the theme.

(Mother has four brothers)
"I said green of two fir trees
My mother has four brothers
And all four are recruited.

[6] From the interview with Edit Rorer (Metleaeva) during the filming of the documentary "Five songs as long as 100 years", director and screenwriter Arnold Brodicianski, 2003.
[7] „Şi-a trimis să ne'ntregească/ Iarăşi glia – un Mihai/ Tânăr domn, viţă regească/ Făt-Frumos cu păr bălai."

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Two on the shores of Prut
Two on the shores of Dniester,
Two on the shores of Prut,
Two on the shores of Dniester.

Dniester, bend your shore
For the marshal to cross.
The marshal has crossed
The hard battles have begun.

Marshal Vod-Mihai,
Heavy fights, but how much do you still have?
What do you do not to put an end to them
That it leaves children poor.

Men die in the battle
And women in widowhood.
It is better to die home
With your children wife.
That the wife will cry you
And the children will mourn you."[8]

(Military song)
"Voivode Mihai
Do you still have many wars,
Do you still have many wars,
What do you do not to put an end to them?
What do you do not to put an end to them?
That it leaves children poor
Young men die in the battle
Fathers die in the battle
And they won't come back.

The mothers are left without sons,
The villages are left deserted
The villages are left deserted
Do, God, peace between the emperors,
Do, God, peace between the emperors,
That the children become servants
Without mothers, without fathers

[8] *„Are mama patru fraţi:* Ş-am zis verde de doi brazi/ Are mama patru fraţi/ Şi toţi patru-s concentraţi.// Doi pe malul Prutului/ Doi pe malul Nistrului/ Doi pe malul Prutului/ Doi pe malul Nistrului.// Nistrule, apleacă-ti malul/ Ca să treacă mareşalul.// Mareşalul a trecut/ Grele lupte s-a-nceput.// Mareşale Vod-Mihai/ Grele lupte, dar mai ai?/ Ce le faci de nu le-mpaci/ Că rămân copii săraci.// Mor bărbaţi în bătălie/ Şi femei în văduvie.// Mai bine să mori acasă/ La copii şi la nevastă/ Că nevasta te-a boci/ Şi copii te-or jeli." (The Folklore Archive of the Institute of Philology, 2010; informant Rodica Buhnă, 40 years old, Iargara village, Leova district; collector Mariana Cocieru).

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The villages are left deserted
And mothers without children."[9]

In the autumn of 1941, Mihai I arrives in Bessarabia again, this visit being his first one as King. This time he was accompanied by his mother, Queen Elena. Together they looked gorgeous. The mother and her august son arrived in the village of Ţiganca in southern Bessarabia to attend the inauguration ceremony of a new military cemetery. In that place, in June-July 1941, in heavy battles with the Red Army, many soldiers and officers of the Romanian Army lost their lives. Peasants and pupils from the surrounding villages of both sides of the Prut River were present at the inauguration ceremony of the Ţiganca Cemetery. Among them was Violeta Ţăruş, a resident of the Tiganca village, who was only 9 years old at the time. The peasant woman from southern Bessarabia remembered well the flashing image of the King, which, even in 2006, still had a magical effect on her. Violeta Ţăruş highlighted the moral virtues of the sovereign, evoking them in a nostalgic atmosphere, with a deep thirst for the absolute:

"He was handsome, young, he was a special person, to everyone, we liked him. He shook hands with us, the pupils, greeted us and spoke nicely to us. People applauded, God forbid, there were a lot of people there".[10]

After the devastation of June 1941, the people of Bessarabia needed some exits to a special, better world that would improve their drama. It's true, things were going back to normal, the teachers were resuming their lectures at school. We learn from Nadejda Malev's testimony[11] that the King and the royalty continue to announce a good start to the new school year:

"I remember that I started the first grade in September of '41. From now on we were Romanians again, because, in the 1940s, we lost our citizenship. When we entered the classroom, there was the teacher, we got up, the priest came in, and we sang together «Long live the King/ In peace and honor/ Lover of the country/ And defender of the country! I was very impressed by this thing and I really liked it. Then everything changed."[12]

At the age of 21, once again King Mihai arrived in Chişinău on 31 October 1942, together with Queen Mother Elena and the Vice President of the Council of

[9] „*Cântec ostăşesc*: Voievodule Mihai/ Multi războai mai ai/ Multi războai mai ai/ Şî le faci de nu le-mpaci?/ Şî le faci de nu le-mpaci?/ Că rămân copii săraci/ Mor flăcăi în bătălie/ Mor taţâi în bătălie/ Şî-napoi n-o să mai vie.// Rămân mame fără fii/ Rămân satili pustii/ Rămân satili pustii/ Fă, Doamni, paşi-mpăraţ/ Fă, Doamni, paşi-mpăraţ/ Că rămân copii argaţi/ Fără mami, fără taţ/ Rămân satili pustii/ Şî mami fără copii." (The Folklore Archive of the Institute of Philology, CEAP1045/1/149/1, 1977, nr. 11: Chiştelniţa, Teleneşti; informant Iordache Maria Eremeevna, 71 years old; collectors Efim Junghietu, Z. Leporda, Z. Izbaş).

[10] Violeta Ţăruş, "During his life, King Michael was on the territory of Moldova five times". PrimeTV journalists, 16 December 2017.

[11] Nadejda Malev, journalist, sister of the writer Vera Malev, author of the novel "Requiem for Mary", dedicated to Maria Cebotari.

[12] Interview conducted by Zinaida Izbaş with Nadejda Malev in the show "Life of memories, life of accomplishments", Radio Moldova, 10 February 2019.

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Ministers, Mihai Antonescu. In order to raise the morale of the locals, the Romanian government decided to celebrate one year since the liberation of Chișinău from the Soviet occupation through a series of events of political and religious significance. From the train station, the royal suite headed to the *Cemetery of Honor from Chișinău*. Ecaterina Silveanu, a resident of Chișinău, remembers well the moment when King Mihai and Queen Mother Elena got out of their cars and approached the cemetery. She still remembered that cemetery "It was very pretty and very tidy!" (Vieru-Işaev 2011: 21). The association of the subject of royalty with order and purity is not accidental; for the nostalgic rooted in tradition, above reality lies the dependence on the absolute.

Towards the center of the city, King Mihai and Queen Mother Elena went in procession with an open crew, pulled by white horses with escorts. In 2019, Nadejda Malev, a direct witness to those moments, tells her story:

> "But also during that period as I remember it, it was in '42, I was with my mother at the central market. The 1 September was approaching and I had to go to school again. So our mother took us to buy us clothes, what we needed for school. We came out from the Armeneasca street on Alexandrovskaya street, at the time that was the name of the central street, and I noticed an agitated crowd. Our mother took us by the hand and said that we are going to see what was going on there. I saw a crew coming from the train station, a phaeton, as we used to call it back in the day, with some beautiful white horses. And when it got next to us, do you know who was there? (Z.I. Who?) Mihai I with his mother! I saw them up close. His mother wore a light, pale lilac dress, long white beads, and a pretty hat, and he stood with his hand on his mother's shoulder. He was dressed in military clothes. This is how I first saw Mihai. I was 8 years old. I remember that he impressed me a lot. But he was so beautiful! He was young! I was especially impressed by the fact that I sang «Long live the King» at school and now I see the King himself in front of me. It was incredible. They were bright moments in my life, but also terrible ones. It was war. The two waves of war, first taking the front to the East, then returning it back to us. (Z.I. What was life like in Chișinău between 1941 and 1945?) Normal! We were learning at school, our parents were working. Vera was studying at «Queen Mary». We did not feel the presence of the Germans, most of them already left, there were only about two or three left here."[13]

After the battles of 1941, the situation in Bessarabia was disastrous and required special recovery measures. The financial project "The Reunification Lend" was intended to contribute to the reconstruction of some buildings and churches. The authorities pursued a policy of supporting and promoting the Bessarabian Church, financially contributing to the restoration of the holy places that were devastated during the first Soviet occupation (Guțuleac 2010: 229–240). Several monasteries and churches were reopened and financially aided in order to be able to continue their activity (Buletin 1942: 35). One beneficiary of the financial aid for reconstruction was the Curchi Monastery. The King had a special

[13] Ibidem.

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relationship with this monastery, placed in an Arcadian-like landscape. In all likeliness, Mihai I visited the monastery several times even before its devastation in '40 -'41. At least Father Ieremia claims that:

> "King Mihai visited the monastery often. He also celebrated his birthday here. There is a balcony at the abbey... the King was meeting the abbot there for tea in the evening. All those places remained. What we want now is just to get some help with the repairs. That, if he came, he would have something to see, not to die of sadness."[14]

Even during the reconstruction, the monastery was visited twice by King Mihai, accompanied by Marshal Ion Antonescu, both making significant donations of money. Ilie Butnaru, an employee doing repairs during those years, embroiders a spectacular fact on the canvas of the story:

> "Once, the King came with an escort of motorcyclists, we saw something like that for the first time" (Ilviţchi 1999: 77).

The locals loved their King, his visits had a strong resonance in their souls, so that each of them generated sensational news and legends. A hallucinatory story circulated on the occasion of the day of sanctification, on the 8 September 1943, of the restored church. It is said that the peasants from the nearby settlements laid carpets all the way from Orhei to Curchi to meet the young King Mihai and his mother, who were also the founders of the church (Corobceanu 2010: 6).

The King's fulminating visits to various localities gave the locals the opportunity to create stories and even jokes. For example, the writer Serafim Saka evoked an anecdote he heard from some elderly peasants about an escape by plane of the king in the Bessarabian village of Vancicauti:

> "Bessarabia was a land blessed by God in which the King, a great lover of aviation flights, landed, in one of his youthful raids, at Vancicăuţi, on the pasture from the front of Nichita Roman's house, then nicknamed «the airplane», as the king's two-seaters plane folded the eaves of his reed-covered house on take-off." (Saka 2018: 6)

Deeply engraved in the memory of the pious locals, the event probably took place in 1943, when, after developing a real passion for airplanes, the King obtained a pilot's license.

After 63 years of exile, in the summer of 2006 (1 June), King Mihai I stepped again on the land of Bessarabia, like Odysseus after a long and dangerous journey. Accompanied by Prince Radu of Hohenzollern-Veringen, he participated in the inauguration and consecration of the *Romanian Cemetery of Honor* near Ţiganca village, in the Cantemir district (also visited by him in 1941), rehabilitated after being demolished by the Soviets. The people received him with great affection, like a miraculous promise. The journalist Nicolae Federiuc writes a special chronicle,

[14] Father Ieremia, from the Curchi Monastery, collectors: Tudor Cires, Simona Lazar, reportage "The King expected to take his votive portrait", in "Jurnal National", 24 July 2007.

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emphasizing the dependence of the event on a sacred time, with profound implications, in the collective subconscious:

> "It was an imposing presence, even if His Majesty wasn't saying anything. For me personally it was a complex moment. Basically, I have never felt like that at an event before, with so much admiration, so much energy, so much strength!"[15]

Valentina Constantinov, a history teacher at the Ţiganca Gymnasium, was impressed by the sublime ritualic moment in which the King:

> "He bowed his head and knelt down, paying another homage to those who had left their youth and life on the battlefield!"[16]

Thirsty for a beneficent normalcy in the harsh landscape of life, all those interviewed mentioned the great virtues of the King. Ecaterina Dimitrov, born in Ţiganca village more than 80 years ago, remembers that Mihai:

> "He talked to the people, sat down with us at the table, also had a glass of wine. He was like a man from our village, this is how simple he was."[17]

The local women approached the King with *sarmale* (traditional Romanian dish) and pies. He tasted them and exclaimed: "Look at how good they are!" Then Ecaterina Dimitrov sang a very sad song about the battles of the Ţiganca village in the summer of 1941:

> "From the Ţiganca to the valley
> Great fire and great mourning,
> The people stopped in their way,
> And asked the proud sun,
> What's this, brother?
> Great fire and great mourning,
> God, how the bombs were falling,
> And the soldiers were getting lost..."[18]

The event that happened in Ţiganca in 2006 triggered an inevitable process: the Bessarabians began to wonder more strongly about the evidence of having a King who represented them in an important historical period. His long absence created a memory impairment for the new generations. However, the potential for adhesion accumulated in the collective subconscious, erupting at the right time with an unsuspected force, like "a revelation, a releasing". Until recently shrouded in mystery, the King's personality caught on. Information started to appear in the press here and there, discovering survivors who actually saw him. Testimonies, curious stories and fictions are still being gathered.

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[15] Nicolae Federiuc; collector: PrimeTV journalists, the cited work.

[16] Valentina Constantinov; collector; PrimeTV journalists, the cited work.

[17] Ecaterina Dimitrov, 80 years old, from the Ţiganca village, collector Domnica Condrea (Botea), 2018.

[18] „De la Ţiganca la vale/ Mare foc şi mare jale/ Se oprea lumea în cale/ Şi-ntreba de mândru soare/ Ce e asta, frăţioare?/ Mare foc şi mare jale/ Doamne, bombe cum cădeau/ Şi ostaşii se pierdeau..." (Ibidem).

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In Bessarabia, the current of opinions was always favorable to King Mihai. During the war, this was primarily due to the fact that he was representing a non-political person. The attachment of the Bessarabians to their King was great, since they hung his portrait next to the orthodox icons on the wall. The military correspondent Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, the author of some reports about the beginning of the Second World War, relates that on 17 July 1941, at the entrance to Chişinău, which he had found in ashes and smoke, he met two young women. They had just lost their home, only managing to save a few photos of their family members. Among them was one with King Mihai:

> "Now the girl is taking out of the envelope a photo of her surrounded by her family, then a photo cut from a history book, of King Mihai I" (Gheorghiu 1993: 67).

After the war, King Mihai meant for the Bessarabians the hope of returning to their motherland Romania and the end of the communist calvary. The historian Igor Caşu tells the case of a Bessarabian priest named Ion Salaru sent to the Gulag for anti-Soviet propaganda, condemned as an "enemy of the people". One of the accusations was that, in 1945, Şalaru urged the people of Izvoare village to resist the occupiers, because in a short time England would declare war on the Soviet Union and liberate Bessarabia. At that time, there was a story about Mihai, according to which the King was to marry the Queen of Great Britain and she was to receive Bessarabia as a gift (Caşu 2011: 283). In the very first months after the occupation of Bessarabia, the men were hunted in order to be recruited into the Soviet troops, but many avoided it by hiding in the woods, being sure that the Romanian or English Army would return in a year at most. In an anti-Soviet leaflet discovered in the village of Tudora is stated that Bessarabia would soon be returned to Romania, calling on the population to pray for Carol and Mihai (Postică 1997: 8).

When Andrei Apostol from the village of Nemirovca was deported, in 1949, with his family to Siberia, his wife considered it appropriate to take with her what is most precious: the orthodox icon and the portrait of King Mihai. The Bâtcă family from Ialoveni village kept in the attic of their house, far from the wrath of the Soviets, a photo of King Mihai from before 1940. This was discovered by their daughter, a Romanian language teacher, Elena Bâtcă-Oţel, during the repair of the roof of her parents' house. The family believes that it was hidden there by her mother Sofia, who, fearing deportation, did not tell anyone about it. She knew exactly what she was doing, because, in 1940, her husband, Ion Bâtcă, the father of seven children, was deported to Siberia where he died two years later. Ion Bâtcă was considered an "enemy of the people" because he was a municipal councilor and, in 1935, dressed in national clothes, he met King Carol II and Prince Mihai in front of Chişinău's City Hall[19].

[19] „The original history of a photograph of King Michael I in Chişinău", Radio Chişinău, 26 May 2016.

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The funniest but also the most interesting moments are the crumbs left in the memory of those succeeding the king's generation – the children who heard about the King from their grandparents, inheriting their perceptual structure, the inclination towards inventiveness that mythologizes, creates unusual images. A nephew remembers from the stories of his grandmother, Liuba Lactionov (her maiden's name being Zestrea), born in Vorniceni village in 1927, that the prince "was very handsome"[20]. The relatives of Margareta Chiorescu (from the Codreanca village) remember the fact that she kept the portrait of Mihai hidden in the wooden frame behind her mirror[21]. The successive filter of the involved subjects in the projection of the figure of Mihai increases the fictitious character of the evocations, it removes them from the historical document to such an extent that it justifies us to perceive them as popular creations, to credit them as any myth, according to a logic of perception of folk art in general. The painter Aurel Guțu remembers that in his village (the Corpaci village, Edineț district) there lived a man who was part of the Royal Guard, rumor has it that he saved the prince from drowning. Also there lived a man Căușeni town that was claiming to have taught Mihai to ride a bicycle[22].

Another almost incredible rumor is that in the north of the Republic of Moldova (Glinjeni village, Fălești district) lives a sister of King Mihai which is the daughter of his father with another woman, about the same age as him, born in Iași. According to Ștefan Melnic, whose daughter-in-law is a niece of the lady in question, aunt Ana Ambrozie's face is "exactly like King Mihai's". The story goes that Ana came on holiday to a friend in Bessarabia during the war and, after crossing the Prut, she and her friend found themselves under bombardment. Her relatives from Iasi assumed that she was killed by the bombing. However, Ana got married in Glinjeni village, gave birth to two children and worked for several years as a community center boss, but she refused to talk about her past. Ana bought a ticket to Iasi after the borders opened, but found no relatives there, and the houses had disappeared during the war[23]. No one can confirm the veracity of the information from the story, nor is it necessary. Unconfirmed as a fact, the story does not lose its validity. It remains a story.

The private life of the kings has always been the center of attention, being debated and exaggerated by their subjects. The people generate mythical representations about their kings as in the times of Alexander I of Moldavia or Stephen the Great. The stories created by the community are adapting on a pattern of popular fictions concerned with the emblematic figures of the past. In the collective imaginary, the King surely has a sum of virtues worth following.

[20] Eugen Vizir, 50 years old, from the Chișinău, 2018.
[21] Maria Işaev, 67 years old, from the Chișinău, 2018; collector Gheorghe Bologan.
[22] Aurel Guțu, 76 years old, from the Chișinău, 2018; collector Gheorghe Bologan.
[23] Ștefan Melnic, 77 years old, from the Chișinău, 2018; collector Gheorghe Bologan.

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The publicist Ştefan Melnic, editor of the magazine "Alunelul", states that news regarding King Mihai are circulating in the parts of his home village: "When the sun will be next to the church, you must be back here!" The origin of this statement comes from a story of his mother Tatiana. When she was young, her father, Ioachim Postolache, was taking care of two white horses and the royal chariot. They were given to him from Soroca city so that he takes good care of them, without putting them to plowing, so when the King comes through their parts of the country to make them available to him. The maintenance of the horses was financed by the Romanian state. A young man happens to come to Tatiana. The father harnessed the horses to the cart, gave the young man the reins, and told him: "When the sun will be next to the church, you must be back here!" And the young man with his friends went for a ride in the royal chariot[24].

Once a lieutenant in the Romanian Army at Şabo, a locality in southern Bessarabia, Vasile Bologan (the Selemet village, Cimişlia district) states that he shook hands with the King, when His Majesty was inspecting the front. The meeting marked him so much that starting from that moment he stood up whenever somebody spoke of the King and even imitated his gestures. For example, when he wanted to say something, he raised his right hand and said "Attention!" supposedly as the king did[25].

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the Bessarabians had Kings that represented them in the modern history was wanted to be erased from their memories in the few decades of existence in the Soviet Union. The testimony of those people proved to be a solution to fill the memory gap that was created in the official history. Among others, the issues of the magazine "Bessarabia" which reflect the visits of Carol II and Mihai I to Bessarabia are still missing from the National Archive of the Republic of Moldova. Therefore, Eudochia Grosu's testimony about the royal family's visit to Manuc Bei Castle is unique.

One cannot overlook the sentimental aspect of the stories that denote nostalgia for the realities of the past and hope for a better future. One can even speak of the cultic function, of the subliminal belief of the evocators in the power of actualizing the past through the act of narrating. These returns to the essential are expressions of the longing for freedom – that "supreme luxury that cancels fate" (Durand 1998: 396).

It was also the unwillingness to accept the perversities of contemporary politicians that led the Bessarabians to value the moral image of King Mihai in their stories. Therefore, Mihai I is associated and described with ideal qualities,

[24] Ibidem.

[25] Constantin Bârcă, 70 years old, from the Chişinău, 2018; collector Gheorghe Bologan.

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such as wisdom, sense of justice, integrity, dignity, faith, balance, equidistance, stability, love for the nation, country and God. The exaggeration, passionate attitude, the mystery note imprinted on the story, situates the image of the King and the narrated events in an immediate vicinity with the metaphysical world.

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HOMO LYRICUS, OR LYRIC SONG IN THE ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL STRATIGRAPHY OF "FOLKLORIC CULTURE": NOTES FOR A MONOGRAPH (PART 1)

IZALY ZEMTSOVSKY and ALMA KUNANBAEVA

ABSTRACT

Authors concentrate on the very fact that there existed among the cultures of Eurasia songs resembling Japanese *oiwake*, this uniquely sophisticated form that were also in some respects analogous to it in significance. That solo-performed lyric "long" song is an international phenomenon, one that is found to this day along practically the entire length of the Great Silk Road. Such masterworks constitute one-of-a-kind creative products that are, as it were, Mona Lisas of oral tradition. Authors gave the creator of lyric songs, the lyric singer and poet, the name *Homo Lyricus*. The article consists of six sections: Just how unique is *oiwake*? (preface); Methodological foundations (after Boris Putilov); Toward future research: hypotheses and limitations; Lyric drawn-out song in the great expanse of typological succession; On the problem of authorship in Eurasian drawn-out song; Some concluding theses on freedom as the essence of lyric song; and a musical supplement. Note: "folkloric culture," as opposed to "folk culture," the term is Boris Putilov's.

Keywords: ethnomusicology, folkloristics, lyric singer and poet, lyric long solo song, drawn-out song, *oiwake, urtyn duu, ozyn күй, hora lungă,* typological succession, Great Silk Road, Eurasia, Boris Putilov.

It's not I who sing, but my soul.
Не я пою, душа поет (Russian saying).

Sing not with your mouth, but with your soul.
Жағыңмен айтпа, жаныңмен айт (Kazakh saying).

1. PREFACE: JUST HOW UNIQUE IS *OIWAKE*?

Our text has two beginnings and no ending.

The first of the beginnings took place in September 1990 in the northern Japanese city of Esashi, in Hokkaido. In Esashi, we were taking part in an unusual

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musical festival consisting of an international symposium along with a competition for the best performance of *oiwake*,[1] a unique Japanese folk lyric song. It was there that we developed an interest in *the solo-performed lyric "long" song* as an *international* phenomenon,[2] one that is found to this day along practically the entire length of the Great Silk Road, which in former times had not only commercial but also unprecedented cultural significance.[3]

The second of the beginnings took place in the latter half of the 1990s in the United States, where Alma was teaching her university students about solo lyric songs from the Kazakh tradition. The melodic beauty of these songs impressed Izaly to such a degree that he began to bombard Alma with questions about them. These questions occasioned an ongoing discussion between the authors; we present for our readers' consideration a very preliminary answer to them.

To be sure, the issue that interests us is complex and contradictory enough that it would be presumptuous to make any claims for a totally satisfactory resolution to it. For that reason, we will not come to any definitive conclusions (were those achievable in the first place). Our goal is to offer something closer to a methodological *admonition* not to allow this distinct category of predominantly solo-performed lyric songs to fade into the general mass of folklore. Though examples of this kind of song are extremely few in number, they are nevertheless so exquisite in their beauty and melodic sophistication that, frankly, it is difficult to believe they are not the products of individual authorship.

Let us return, however, to Hokkaido. The song at the center of international attention there was a poetic piece, truly beautiful, about unfulfilled love: "You are there, I am here, and only the wind blows between us." This piece is performed solo, generally accompanied by shakuhachi, an 85cm, open-hole, single-reed bamboo flute. The melody is built from the pentatonic scale characteristic of Japanese music. Structurally, it is notable for its highly developed melismatics: in the main (middle) section, twenty-six syllables are drawn out for over two minutes, supplemented afterward by lines about the cries of a seagull awakening the hero and the waves of tears that are stifling him.

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[1] Izaly Zemtsovsky (hereafter "IZ") was among those who, along with the Japanese organizers, developed the program of the festival (structured according to the principle of stylistic similarity between the compositions selected and *oiwake*); Alma Kunanbaeva (hereafter "AK") presented her paper "*Oiwake* and Kazakh Folk *Melos*" (published only in Japanese) at the conference and also introduced the distinguished Kazakh musician and epic singer Quandyq Burlibaev (1936–1992). See That's Oiwake, 1990.

[2] We are aware of only one brief article, which (following Béla Bartók and Constantin Brăiloiu) approaches this phenomenon from the perspective of mid-twentieth century European musical folkloristics: Laki: 393–400. This article considers the Romanian song form *cîntec lung* (known in Maramureș as *hora lungă*) from an international perspective by comparing it in particular with Arab and Hungaro-Jewish forms, as well as with one of Bartók's own melodies, a creative reconstitution of the *cîntec lung* form in the third movement of his Fourth String Quartet. Compare Bartók 1966.

[3] The first modest attempt to trace the history of Eurasian "drawn-out" song along the historical Silk Road was undertaken by IZ in a paper published only in English: Zemtsovsky 2003.

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Hundreds of singers had gathered together in Esashi to take turns performing this difficult song before a jury of discerning experts, who timed every sung bar and musical phrase with a stopwatch. The winners were handsomely rewarded. Many spectators recorded the entire competition in the hopes of raising their own performances to the highest possible level and then taking part in the event themselves when it was held again in the next year. At the beginning of each competition, a large stand was brought out onto the stage with a provisional transcription of the song. A musicologist gave a detailed explanation of the notations, demonstrating the specific timbres and vocal techniques indicated by each one, after which the entire hall performed the canonical version of the song together. The effectiveness of that Japanese notation for laymen was truly impressive. Eight squares at the bottom of it refer to eight phases of the song's composition: beginning, second pitch raised, crumpling, rolling up, rolling, scooping, moderate, and ending. In both notations of the same standard version, Japanese and European, the very beginning of each segment is given parenthetically. This way they mark the so-called *soigake* – the second vocalist who does not perform the solo song but only shouts vocables *soi, soi*.[4]

The present-day official notation of the Esashi Oiwake Association

[4] The source of Japanese notation is Hughes 1992: 51 and the European one is That's Oiwake 1990: 13–14. At greater length see Groemer 2002: 602–604.

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The centuries-long history of *oiwake* is full of curious transformations and, in a sense, redactions. Original versions include *Shinshū oiwake*, a song of packhorse drivers introduced into Echigo Province by samurai in the Edo period and later transformed into a sailor's song. It was sailors who brought it to Esashi approximately 200 years ago, where it eventually developed into the fully fledged, highly expressive lyric form known as *Esashi oiwake*. *Esashi oiwake* has become known for its unique three-part structure: a distinctive solo opening section; a drawn-out middle section forming the main body of the song; and a lyrical coda in which the melodic elongation of each syllable is kept to a minimum.

The Esashi *Oiwake* Society holds regular seminars for the study of *oiwake*, and for over half a century, it has organized the annual, widely attended Esashi *Oiwake* National Competition for the "Best *Oiwake* Singer in Japan" (only now the performers are not only the best in Japan but also in India, Nepal, Mongolia, the United States, and even Brazil). For a full understanding of the history of *oiwake*, of course, we need specialized monographic research; the English ethnomusicologist David W. Hughes has been working and publishing on the subject for the past twenty-five years.[5]

The Japanese themselves consider *oiwake* to be unique: they have no other song like it. When the organizers of the festival consulted Izaly, they were interested above all in any melodic and stylistic parallels he might know from other ethnic contexts. They were aware only of readily apparent Korean analogues and were now looking for similarities further afield in Eurasia, evidently guided by a then-current linguistic hypothesis about the possible Altaic roots of the Japanese language.[6] When Izaly responded, he did not realize at the time that the list of potential musical correspondences he had come up with reproduced, almost literally, a map of the Great Silk Road that once connected the vast expanse of Eurasia, and along which flourished wide-ranging intercultural exchange. As it happened, this kind of historical perspective on the unique *oiwake* is exactly what our Japanese colleagues were looking for.

From the outset, however, our own intention was somewhat different. We were interested not in specific, individual similarities between *oiwake* and songs from other ethnic contexts, but in the very fact that there existed among the cultures of Eurasia songs resembling this uniquely sophisticated form that were also in some respects analogous to it in significance. One after another, we were confronted with questions related to *oiwake*—or, rather, not to this particular song, but to the *phenomenon* of such a song. It was clear that this phenomenon found its most extreme expression in Esashi, not only in geographical terms (Esashi is situated at the outermost edge of Eurasia), but also in terms of its nature. The fact is that the *entire country* is a student of a *single* folk song, studying it and rehearsing it to achieve an accuracy that comes down almost to the millisecond. And *what a song it is*, a

[5] For further reading, see Hughes 1992; Hughes 2007; Hughes 2008.
[6] Starostin 1991.

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veritable masterpiece of the drawn-out form of lyric song in its solo-performed manifestation: musically virtuosic and executed at the highest professional and artistic level. A song, moreover, that not only does not have variants but also eschews variation altogether. We did not discount the possibility that *oiwake*, in its contemporary figuration, might be the product of some hidden authorial or editorial intervention, although discussion of this possibility, unless we are mistaken, did not occur at the conference. This single song is a nexus of extremes.

A first layer of questions arose immediately. Could this masterpiece really be a folk song? If so, then is uniqueness as much embedded in the nature of lyric song as typology is? How, one might ask, do masterpieces actually come about in oral tradition? Do they have (at some point in their existence) authors? Are they amenable to variation? Do they permit themselves to be adapted into other contexts? How do they achieve popular acceptance? Can they be situated within the general stratigraphy of folklore, or are they fundamentally outside of its currently accepted framework?

A second layer of questions concerns the genre and formal properties of *oiwake*, as well as the relative chronology of these properties. If *oiwake* is an erotic lyric song, then how ancient is it? When and how did its exceptionally sophisticated musical and—as far as we can judge—musical-poetic structure develop? Is this phenomenon, the musical prolongation of syllables, amenable to any kind of historical dating—on a national (ethnic) or perhaps even international scale? How can we account for such extraordinary melodic breadth? And is "drawn-out lyric" the correct term for the corresponding generic form?

A third layer of questions addresses the issue of ethnic parallels and connections. Why, for example, did the Bashkir *quray*[7] and solo songs performed at the festival seem so familiar to the Japanese, while the Kazakh epic singing and *dombra*[8] playing seemed so foreign? Why, when listening to the Japanese "drawn-out" *oiwake*, did we not once draw any association with Russian or Ukrainian drawn-out lyric songs, to say nothing of Armenian or Jewish monodies? How might this Japanese form be related to analogues from ethnic traditions not represented at the festival in 1990? In short, how might the concrete *similarities* *oiwake* shares with examples from other traditions be connected (or not connected) to its typal *affinities* with them?

All three layers of questions are, of course, closely interrelated; it is not possible to answer one without touching upon another. But the main question, *the question of questions* was for us the following: is *oiwake* truly unique—not as a concrete song, but as a phenomenon? We wanted, then, to understand the nature of these lyric masterpieces more deeply and to trace the ethnogeography of analogous drawn-out songs, in connection with their musical morphology, within the Eurasian

[7] The *quray* is a long, open, endblown flute with two to seven fingerholes. It is the national instrument of the Bashkirs and the Tatars.

[8] The Kazakh *dombra* is a plucked, long-necked lute, typically two-stringed.

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context familiar to us (as far as that is possible). In the course of our research we have also endeavored—as a first step—to outline several typological affinities between solo forms of lyric song, as well as to propose a series of preliminary hypotheses that invite discussion.

But what does it mean for a song to be *similar* to *oiwake* if we are not interested in *oiwake* in and of itself? In other words, *how can we take the measure of a masterpiece* if, unlike *oiwake*, the song is not in its society's mainstream, nor is it institutionally legitimized (as *oiwake* has been, for example, by the festival in Hokkaido, which has brought to the form something akin to state canonization)? It is hardly possible to answer this question definitively. Any lyric song this exceptionally beautiful will bear the stamp of some great creative individual throughout, whether that individual is the author or the performer of the piece. Sociological investigation is, of course, essential here, but we should not forget that the sociological approach is not able to take into account the element of individual choice, which lies outside of its methodological framework. Meanwhile, there is the important, inarguable fact that these songs call not only for listeners, but also for performers and for perpetual repetition. Each repetition deepens our insight into the song, not only in terms of its textual content (what is said), but also in terms of what lies beyond the text (what is not said). The music of these songs speaks to us not of the external, but of the internal, of that which is never fully verbalized. Each iteration of the song in performance provides an experience that allows for ever-subtler penetration not only into its artistic conception, but also into its own relationship to that conception.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to be completely objective when you are faced with a masterpiece. In some mysterious way, a song like this gives expression to you, embodies that which is best in you, speaks as if on your behalf, elevates you to a level of almost religious sublimity and purity. Thus it disarms you as a critic...

That which follows is, nonetheless, a humble attempt to answer—if only schematically—a complex question about the distinguishing features of *lyric* song; its most important characteristics; and its place in the ethnomusicological stratigraphy of "folkloric culture."

2. METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS (AFTER BORIS PUTILOV)

The more deeply we immersed ourselves in our material, the clearer it became to us that it would be impossible to work through it without considering a whole range of questions fundamental to the study of music in oral tradition. It was at this point that we returned to the work of Boris Nikolaevich Putilov (1919–1997).

Perhaps we were mistaken, but it seemed to us that the current way of thinking about the art of oral tradition remained, to a considerable extent, in the grip of certain pre-established narratives that were constricting further scholarly

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exploration. It was Putilov who began the task of breaking down these narratives—in his case, into at least three fundamental new currents of thought.

First, he freed us from any narrow understanding of folklore, decisively arguing against the tradition of "*identifying the folkloric only with the folk.*"[9]

Second, he showed us conclusively that folklore "has a vast capacity for *self-organization.*" Challenging his critics, Putilov said that "folklore is able to engender itself, all by itself, but it is human beings who need it [...] how can I put it?—without human beings, it would not actually be done. Folklore is capable of self-creating."[10]

Third, Putilov forced us into the great expanse of comparative typological study. In this, unlike many of his colleagues (in both the Soviet Union and abroad), he was searching for "the determining factors and mainsprings" of folkloric creation *not outside of folklore, but within folklore itself.* Putilov gave us an object lesson in how to analyze art not from the starting point of extrinsic sociocultural matrices, but from the starting point of its own intrinsic laws and universal properties: "we must concentrate on the search for *intrafolkloric* factors, *intrafolkloric* distinguishing features: these, in the final analysis, are what determine and explicate the categories of genre, plot, motif, poetics, and so on."[11] Moreover, in formulating, for example, the law of typological succession, according to which traces of a genre's prehistory may turn up in the folklore of another people, Putilov emphasized (with *epos* in mind, but in principle extending his methodological admonition to all fields of oral creativity): "This more or less apparent succession lays open the *vast international expanse* that makes up the foundations of *epos*" (emphases ours).[12]

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[9] Putilov 1994: 47, 51. See also Asafyev's in some ways analogous—and (for any consideration of Russian music) no less significant—appeal for the phenomenon of "the folk melodism of Russian music" to "be liberated from the confines of folklore's narrow oral framework" Asaf'ev 1972: 203).

[10] Putilov 2006: 23. To complement this thesis, we would like, for our part, also to suggest a more general formulation: external causality fades into the background, while internal causality comes to the fore. The element of evolution is opposed to the element of *causa sui* (the cause of something's own existence or nonexistence). In the words of philosopher Vladimir Bibler, "...an object, perceived as 'causa sui,' is *already* endowed with its future states—every delineation of its existence" (Bibler 1975: 195). Some time ago, IZ anticipated in his own way the parameters of this question: "It is clearly more promising to consider song as a special, typologically nondivisible phenomenon, one that is *self-propulsive in the system of historical transformation.* The stages and the extent of this phenomenon are endless, but endless within the framework of the *self-propulsive organism*'s typal phenomenality, any division of which spells its ruin" (Zemtsovsky 1983: 18).

[11] Cited in Zemtsovsky 2005: 90, 88.

[12] Putilov 1999: 146. As Jules Michelet (1798–1874) wrote over 170 years ago in a different context: "Grasping this people thus both in its present and its past, I see its necessary *relations* as they affine *with other peoples*, in all degrees of civilization or barbarism. They reciprocally explain, and form a mutual comment upon one another. To any given question on the one, the other makes reply" [Michelet's emphases] (Michelet 1846: 109). This thought has never attracted the attention of folklorists, even those familiar with Prince Vladimir Odoevsky's remarkable conjecture: "Who knows? Perhaps in order to understand the history of Russia, one must turn the history of other peoples inside out" (Odoevskii 1956: 440).

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We will proceed on the basis of Putilov's three precepts by 1) eschewing any narrow understanding of the *folk*; 2) assuming the *self-organizing* power of folklore; and 3) approaching vast *typological* horizons without fear. To return to *oiwake*, if it is considered, as a phenomenon, in the greater Eurasian context and turns out not to be an isolated case after all, but instead one manifestation of a particular type of lyric song, then will it not fall upon us to acknowledge that this highly specific (if as yet unaccounted for in the scholarly mainstream) category exists within the general stratigraphy of "folkloric culture," at least from an ethnomusicological perspective? What we have in mind is a category of songs that are, if the expression may be permitted, "dressed-up" forms of traditional folklore—but that are, at the same time, manifestly beyond the boundaries of traditional folklore, encroaching into new territory that is not so much adjacent to authorial creativity as it is a place where folklore is linked with an *individual's creation of unique masterworks*. This is a category that up to the present time has been lacking in our understanding of the true richness of oral tradition, where comparable masterworks "stick out" like isolated peaks, evincing a degree of perfection that is almost troubling amid the collective folklore we all love.

Such masterworks, including *oiwake*, constitute *one-of-a-kind creative products* that by definition are not replicable in variants. They are, as it were, *Mona Lisas of oral tradition*. In contrast to folklore, which is alive with variants, a masterwork may be fixed in oral tradition precisely by means of its *variantlessness*.

We cannot help but recall a Kazakh legend that is highly representative of the issues raised here. This is the legend of Tasbergen, a distinguished performer of epics, related elsewhere by Alma in one of her articles.[13] "One day, in the heat of inspiration, Tasbergen completed not five—a number in itself unattainable to the average storyteller—but seven *qaiyrmas* (or concluding sections of epic tirades), each of which rose up to a higher and higher level of perfection. Finally, the respected elders could no longer stand it: 'Cut it out, Tasbergen! What, did you come up with this stuff to spite future generations? Your descendants will be doomed to die without ever having achieved such perfection!' From that point on, Tasbergen did not overstep the boundaries of human capability or attempt to intrude into the realm of heavenly perfection." As Alma has argued, "This is how tradition has maintained itself—this is how it has kept alive: its greatness has not required any individual's embellishment or exaggeration. The epic milieu has preserved the norms of epic performance."[14]

But the lyric milieu is not the epic, and lyric singers, exceptional in every way, have been allotted a special, entirely unique, even privileged role in their contexts. Lyric singers, it may be said, answer to no one. In 1990, Dina Amirova rightly identified a special kind of social-artistic "institution" within Kazakh

[13] Kunanbaeva 1987: 110.

[14] Cited in Kunanbaeva 1984: 36.

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traditional culture that she called the *institution of lyric singers*.[15] Belonging to this institution requires a particular kind of "attention to etiquette [...] in one's behavior: eccentricity along with elegance of manner and social refinement, as well as physical attractiveness and extravagance in attire."[16]

We cannot ignore the fact that these claims for a social-artistic "institution" of lyric singers, the specific manifestations of which may be quite different among various peoples, are (inevitably, it would seem) a departure from the framework of traditional (i.e., peasant) *folklore*, but at the same time—and this is important—they are *not* a departure from the framework of *folkloric culture*, as Boris Putilov has conceived it.

In any event, it is not possible to understand the phenomenon of lyric solo song without this conception of an *institution of lyric singers* uniting performers from different social strata. As Izaly once expressed the paradox, "song is not to be found at the origins of folklore." Taking the point further, with an even more unexpected thesis, he has also argued that traditional folklore, as a whole, has not managed to follow the historical path to "song" all the way to the end. The way to realize this tendency fully, in Izaly's view, did not become apparent until the late period of traditional folklore; it was outside the framework of folklore, however, that it finally materialized, on the level of professional culture.[17] Without denying the heuristic force of this paradox, we believe it is worthwhile also to consider other hypotheses. For that reason, we will not at this time raise the issue of historicism in regard to lyric song.

Hegel long ago observed that an advantage of lyric poetry is that it "is not restricted to specific epochs in the spiritual development of a people but can flourish abundantly *in the most different* epochs..." (emphasis ours).[18] Lyric was most likely a constant, primordial attribute of the *feeling subject*, whose feelings were revealed by it in a musical-poetic way; and various forms of lyric song were able to coexist in all historical epochs. "Truly the spirit blows where it wants, and in any society at any given time there have lived people who distinguished themselves from the masses by the way they have related to the world and to the human being."[19]

We would like to give this person, the creator of lyric songs, the name *Homo Lyricus*. There are already two other fundamental types of performer known from earliest times in the oral traditions of practically every people: the "storyteller"

[15] Amirova 1990. On the term "lyric singer," see Shishmarev 1911.

[16] Amirova 1990: 8. In particular, in the Kazakh context, the spiritual patronage rendered to lyric singers "from the so-called upper world of the ancestors is symbolized by mandatory ornamentation in the form of a tuft of Eurasian eagle-owl feathers on the singer's headdress, as well as on the head of the dombra, the instrument that accompanies the singing."

[17] Zemtsovsky 1983: 5–6.

[18] Hegel 1974: 1123.

[19] Emel'ianov 2001.

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(Homo Narrans[20]) and, famously, the "player" (Homo Ludens[21]). There is every reason to add a third type: Homo Lyricus, the lyric singer and poet. In fact, it is surprising that this has not already been done.

In all known histories of the semi-folkloric wandering musicians of Europe and Asia (minstrels, *trouvères*, *jongleurs*, troubadours, and *Minnesänger*, not to mention corresponding East Slavic, Central Asian, Mongolian, Caucasian, Balkan lyric singers and their analogues from other cultures, all of them *Homines Lyrici*, representatives of the poet-musician class in oral—or, in some instances, semi-oral, semi-written—tradition), these musicians are shown constantly to have created their own lyric masterpieces, enriching if not "folklore," as traditionally understood, then the "folkloric culture" Putilov has so fittingly brought to our attention. Folkloric culture, according to Putilov, "is by no means limited to the culture of the folk masses; as a phenomenon, it is much broader and richer, and the tradition of identifying the folkloric solely with the 'folk' should be put to rest."[22] Furthermore: "folkloric culture is just as *multi-composite*, as variegated and rich in its forms, as inexhaustible in content and diverse in functional linkages, as the reality external to it" (emphasis ours).[23]

It is our profound conviction that the forms of sung lyric in oral tradition—musically so widespread and abundant, clearly professional at some point in their existence, and amounting to artistically unique masterworks—aptly illustrate Putilov's point.

3. TOWARD FUTURE RESEARCH: HYPOTHESES AND LIMITATIONS

To make the case for the existence of this particular phenomenon—that is, something equivalent to *oiwake* in various ethnic traditions—we will need to substantiate our claim with specialized, in-depth research on the subject. We find ourselves still at the very beginning of this envisioned project; it falls on us, therefore, to lay out the basic contours of a potential monograph on the lyric masterpieces of oral tradition, as considered in an international context. We will give an outline here.

Our first task is to provide some evidence that these unique specimens do indeed belong to the lyric genre, that is, to lyric in the narrow sense: songs that are characterized by their exclusively vocal means of expression and that are connected neither to ritual, nor to plotted narrative, nor to dance or other kinds of physical movement. These are the songs to which Vladimir Propp, following

[20] See, e.g., Niles 1999. For extensive review of this monograph, see Archambeau 2000: 271–273.
[21] See, above all, Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (1938). For an interesting critique of Huizinga's concept, see Ehrmann 1968: 31–57.
[22] Putilov 1994: 47.
[23] Ibid, 51.

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Russian folk terminology, has assigned the literal term "vocal [*golosovyi*]".[24] The overwhelming majority of these songs come to us from the field of men's solo singing, with the intonational scope and freedom of self-expression typical of that tradition.[25] Sometimes the performer himself will provide instrumental accompaniment; more rarely, he will be accompanied by someone else (for example, in a duet). Either way, the songs themselves will always be distinguished by a highly developed melodic structure, and the performance of them naturally requires vocal abilities of the highest caliber. These songs are sung not so much for the entertainment of others as for self-expression, and it is unlikely that an inexperienced singer will be able to perform them in their full complexity.

These "long" lyric songs—sung monologues, as a rule—do not have the widespread prevalence of the highly popular ballad type, a genre that is present in most of the ethnic traditions of Europe and America. Nor are these songs really akin to the ballad at all, with its simple dance-like melodies. In general, the "long" lyric presupposes a kind of spiritual lifting; it operates at a remove from the everyday, including the everyday style of singing. These songs are characterized not simply by their poetic sophistication, but also by their pure musical beauty and the absolute maturity of their melodic development. Their milieu is well aware of the exceptional aesthetic sophistication of these song forms, which in many instances we might consider to be something like "ethnic" versions (or typological doubles?) of Italian *bel canto* (lit. "beautiful singing"). Hence such expressions as, for example, *äsem än* ("beautiful, graceful song") or *sharyqtau* ("soaring song") in Kazakh, *khosh āvāz* or *khosh khān* ("beautiful voice" or "beautiful singing")[26] in Persian, and so on. In addition, lyric songs are distinguished by the stable relationship within them between a specific melody and a specific poetic text; this is one of the fundamental structural markers of the form.

The essence of these lyric songs, as we see it, lies in the fact that they constitute an entirely distinctive mode in the psychological existence of the individual, a mode whose function cannot be fulfilled by any other: this is the *mode of self-realization*. We shall call it, more specifically, the "lyrical mode of self-realization." Thus, in contrast to all other song genres, lyric song should be understood above all as the artistic self-realization of the poet-singer, and not

[24] Propp 1998: 55–60.

[25] The specific features of male singing have not yet been the subject of specialist research, musicological or otherwise. Aleksandr Veselovsky was correct when he wrote that "no one has yet written a history of the male ideal of love as it appears in folk songs and in everyday life, far from the influence of the cultured classes and the genteel sentiments fostered by them. We are told of 'women's burden,' not of masculine *courtoisie*. Therein, undoubtedly, has a process taken place that was determined by a certain set of conditions..." (Veselovskii 1940: 288).

[26] These phrases are often encountered in reference to the singing of nightingales in Persian and Kurdish poetry. (We would like to thank Professor Partow Hooshmandrad of California State University, Fresno, whom we consulted on the subject of Persian and Kurdish terminology.)

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primarily as some form of communication.[27] Even if in certain traditions lyric song may also retain, for example, the function of a serenade (cf. the Provençal *alba*[28] and analogous genres), thereby retaining a textual (and, as it were, contextual) component of address to another, there nevertheless persists in lyric song a fundamental component of self-realization and self-presentation, what we might call the "*musical self-portrait" of the hero-in-love*, or, more broadly (and more pertinently), the "musical self-portrait" of the Musical Human (Homo Musicus), the Lyrical Human (Homo Lyricus).

It is Homo Lyricus, and in particular the singing hero-in-love, who is the nucleus, the poetic (and therefore creative) subject, the *individual* who above all creates a *lyrical cosmos* and sets it into motion. This is an individual breaking free from any and all bonds, including those of class,[29] as a result precisely (and primarily) of 1) his or her mastering of the lyric cosmos, which resembles nothing else; 2) his or her liberation, figuratively speaking, from class and other kinds of gravitational pulls; and 3) his or her breaking through—in the nature of an ecstatic flight—into new, previously unknown, but infinitely beautiful strata of the *melosphere*.[30]

Lyric song would never, in any confluence of historical circumstances, be able to emerge without this all-consuming joy in lyric self-causativity, this unique *causa sui*: the lyric self-expression of the *Musical Human*, his or her melodic jubilation. Among some peoples, *voicedness* [*golosovost'*] of this kind has been

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[27] This does not negate what we view as the fundamental truth of music's (or any art form's) *addressiveness*, which is related to the inherent purposiveness of intonement as a formal-creative process. On this subject, see Zemtsovsky 1980. Addressiveness in lyric song can at times be even more clearly in evidence, though predominantly in the *subjunctive* mood. An example would be something like a serenade without an addressee on the balcony... Cf. also Dzhivani Mikhailov's suggestion (as related by Oyuuntsetseg Dörvöljingiin) that *urtiin duu* should be considered within the genre of *classical* music, the characteristics of which Mikhailov identifies as follows: 1) the predominance of aesthetic over utilitarian concerns; 2) the presence of a developed musical grammar, a set of rules for the construction of musical texts that has been worked out in great detail; 3) a *special type of communication* with a deeply *personal* character that presupposes a certain level of spiritual development as well as both a musician's and a listener's familiarity with the system of musical grammar (Dörvöljingiin 1990: 11). Cf. also this all-encompassing argument: "Every human act is always addressive, every subject of labor is 'told' to someone..." (Bibler 1975: 374).

[28] *Alba* (Occitan "dawn") is a traditional genre in the poetry of Provençal troubadours of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It tells of secret nighttime assignations that are cut short by the coming of dawn or by a sentinel's warning that the sun is about to rise. The corresponding genre among the *Minnesänger* was called the *Tagelied*. As a rule, the *alba* took the form of a strophic dialogue, although *alba*-monologues are also known. See Zemtsovsky 1967: 155 (with bibliography). For more recent studies of the genre, see Poe 1984; Aubry 2008; Hult 1996.

[29] Cf. Shishmarev 1911: 559. Lyric song is less a class-based form than one common to all humankind, "making extensive use of all the powers of the word" (and, we would add, of melody—IZ, AK).

[30] Both the concept and the term "melosphere" were introduced by Izaly Zemtsovsky. For more, see Zemtsovsky 1992; Zemtsovsky 1997; Zemtsovsky 2009.

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limited, for example, to spring jubilations (e.g., the *gavilēšanas*—lit. "jubilation"—a distinctive genre in the Latvian folk tradition). According to Putilov's law of typological succession, that which was performed calendrically in the Latvian context might evolve in a Russian context into a non-occasional song. Somewhat similarly—again, from a typological perspective—we are reminded of the concept of merriment in the vocal art of Western European minstrels, who inhabited a very different historical-geographical as well as generic territory; their art has been registered even lexically (e.g., in words such as "glee," "mirth," and other synonyms for "merriment," all of which are used in reference to minstrels and their art).[31] This phenomenon of lyric ecstasy is, if you will, typologically akin to the Japanese *oiwake*, despite the wide musical distance between these forms, as well as to the Mongolian *urtiin duu* long song with its phenomenal sonic sweep[32]—the melodic "jubilation" of a steppe nomad—and other, similar masterpieces of sung self-realization, from a variety of ethnic contexts.

Self-realization as self-affirmation in this singing world may be either a solo endeavor (most commonly) or a group one (as in such traditionally polyphonic cultures as, for example, the Albanian, Georgian, Russian, Sardinian, or Ukrainian). Oral tradition is never limited to just one model; as a fundamental law, a wide range of models and possibilities are open to it.

If we take self-realization to be the primary function of lyric song, its underlying purpose, then we will have to set aside the appealing but naive concept of *aby-kali* (from Belarusian, "whenever you like"), which Feodosiy Rubtsov picked up in the field long ago, and which became for him and for us the basis of a "definition" of lyric song as a genre. In fact, *aby-kali* is not a function, but an indeterminacy, a blurring of the context. A definition should be formulated on the basis of what is present rather than on the basis of what is absent. Lyric song is in an ontological class by itself. It is deeply positive and affirmative: *it is the soul that sings*, that which is best in a person, a singer, a people. (It was with this idea in mind that we chose the epigraphs to this article.) This point finds its most obvious confirmation in the example of Russian drawn-out song, which may be seen as a culmination of melodic development not only within the framework of Russian folklore, but also on a global scale. Boris Asafyev has formulated it beautifully: "Russian drawn-out song is one of the highest attainments of melodic culture, for within it the human breath guides the intonation of deep spiritual conceptions that have retained the force of their inspiration for centuries. It is as if each individual sound in the drawn-out song has been carefully selected and deeply felt. You cannot help but feel that the soul has been concentrated into sound..."[33]

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[31] Saponov 1996: 61 (see also Saponov's bibliography).

[32] Cf. Asafyev on the subject of lyrical ecstasy: "We forget that music, as we think of it now, is in essence *lyric song*, that it, as art, is only possible in the moment when a person becomes conscious of his or her emotions: *ecstatically* rejoicing or despairing, loving or raging, he or she breaks out in song and expresses a relationship to the surrounding world and its phenomena" [emphasis ours] (Glebov 1918: 59).

[33] Asaf'ev 1987: 28.

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In the context of lyric song, understood as the musical-poetic-vocal self-portrait of the singer (the voice of the lyric protagonist, his or her *voice in the world*), there are, at least in the Russian peasant tradition, two completely different meanings of the word "voice." One meaning is the voice as such, the voice as a vehicle (or instrument) for singing. The other meaning makes use of "voice" as a specific term referring to a song's melody. Every song has its own particular *voice*, or its own particular melody [*napev*], its own unique musical shape. At a certain stage in the poetry and music of oral tradition, it became apparent that the "voice" of a song, its melody, was also "my" voice, the voice of Homo Lyricus—and, by extension, the voice of a master lyric singer asserting his or her presence in the world. In fact, the *conjunction* of these two meanings of the term "voice" (as "vocal instrument" and "melody") would also seem to establish lyric song as a specific sung genre—not, of course, in the sense of the "personal songs" found among the peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East, which serve as a person's method of self-identification with one tribe or another, but in the sense that lyric song may function as a person's unique mode of positioning him- or herself in the world. What we are imagining is lyric song as the self-affirmation of the individual on a broad existential level, finding his or her voice not only in the aforementioned physiological and melodic senses, but simultaneously in a third sense of "voice" as well, as free poetic self-expression that is grounded in the recognition of the special status of the singer and his or her exceptional creative possibilities. These three senses of the single term "voice" may also be seen to correspond, in essence, to three distinct realities: 1) the objective or "real"; 2) the artistic; and 3) the melospheric. It is not by chance that it is lyric song specifically, and not other folklore genres, that has the potential to be understood and loved far beyond the boundaries of its own ethnic or class territory.

With respect to lyric song, there is yet another way of conceptualizing the function of the voice as melody, and it is an extremely profound one. In this view, melody is not considered a simple given, something established once and for all. Instead, it is seen as a specific, internally dynamic *hypostasis of an individual's self-realization*. It might be said—providing, of course, that our hypothesis is free from vulgarization—that within the rigorous process of intonational unfolding, within the very melodic construction of lyric song, we may detect the image (and, if you will, the reflection) of Homo Lyricus's spiritual, personal coming-into-being.[34]

In this vein, we are reminded of a brief but remarkable note preserved in the Moscow archive of Boris Asafyev, which we both examined while preparing

[34] Ideally, of course, we would work over this argument, like many other arguments in this article, more carefully and perhaps supplement our work here with another article after considering evidence from several other cultures.

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B. Asafyev: On Folk Music, an anthology of selected texts (Leningrad: Muzyka, 1987). It was there that Asafyev formulated his hypothesis that there are two fundamental ways to (as he put it) "demonstrate an idea." One method is "music = idea (Mozart)"; the other is "music = the means of expressing the idea (Wagner)."[35] Today we are of the opinion that what Asafyev has hit upon here is something much broader than the mere delineation of two types of composed music in the Western tradition, two contrasting modes in its musical thinking. From our point of view, with the exception of lyric song, music is a means of expressing an idea in practically all genres of music in oral tradition. Hence, for example, its (in one way or another) mandatory addressiveness, in contrast to the situation in lyric song, where the music itself is *the artistic idea*, in all its singular richness, the bewitching fascination of its coming-into-being. Asafyev, with bold insight, defined this aspect of lyric song as "symphonic"—not in reference to any relation to the modern European genre of "symphony," but in reference to its way of expressing an inner, musical essence of intensive melodic flowering or coming-into-being, of musical form as a specific, self-sustaining process.[36]

Asafyev introduced the term "symphonism" into the field of musicology as far back as 1917 and later carried it over into the study of monodic song. Speaking of the germination of *melos* from a single "intonational seed," he said: "there is not a single tone that is left to its own devices; melody coheres by means of flowing, linked intervals such that the ear can always sense the sculptedness and plasticity inherent in this cohesive and unconstrained movement of the voice. Each step is 'lovingly,' vocally sung 'around,' either as a repetition, or as something recalled from a distance, or as a variation, or even as the narrow 'intervallic units' surrounding it."[37] In Kazakh musicologist Ilyas Kozhabekov's felicitous words, "the melodic process [is integrated] on the basis of focal reference notes, and we experience this integration as if we were absorbing, through sound, the energy of *melos*."[38]

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[35] Russian State Archives of Literature and Art (RGALI) f. 2658, op. 1, d. 435, l. 18.

[36] Cf. Asafyev: "...the value of Russian folk song's symphonism lies precisely in the fact that it contains an unbroken melodic flow, a songful beginning, a *melos* [from ancient Greek μέλος (mélos) – IZ, AK] that has arranged itself in layers and become fixed as a result of a centuries-long process of creative pressurization; this melos has created an active tension and thus has maintained a *continuousness of musical consciousness*..." (Glebov 1918: 77). Symphonism occurs "when there is a sensation of the continuousness of the musical current and of forward-pushing tension" (ibid 63). "...We experience symphonism as the *continuousness of musical consciousness*, a state in which no single element can be thought of or perceived as autonomous, as one individual element among many others, but rather a state in which the whole, creative existence, set into motion, is intuitively contemplated" (ibid 64; emphasis ours, bolding by the author). Cf. also a remarkable insight from Boleslav Yavorsky (not, unfortunately, developed further in his work): "all the principles of the symphony are encapsulated in monophonic folk song" (Iavorskii 1972: 270–71, from a letter dated 1910).

[37] Cf. Boris Asaf'ev 1954: 83. Cf. also Tigranov 1974: 49. Cf. also ibid, 485.

[38] From an unpublished work on the modal composition of Kazakh songs (Kozhabekov). We thank the author for permission to use his manuscript.

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The germination of melody, while slowed down and aperiodic on the surface, is nevertheless characterized by great *internal* energy and intensity. Here we will highlight the idea of "narration by musical sounds," which is a metaphor for a particular kind of musical thinking. It is this characteristic "self-sufficiency" of the lyric song's *melos*—"the lyric of tones"—that Asafyev called "symphonism." What he had in mind was a flowering melodic growth, a perpetual coming-into-being through the cohesion of and conflict between fundamental components, waxing and waning phases of development, etc.: the internal metamorphoses of surface melodic formations or motifs [*popevki*], supported by tones that are in one way or another complementary and interdependent. In such melodies, we do not hear how individual melodic "bricks" are assembled and built up. Rather, we hear the wave-like swelling of a primordial musical thought; we hear "continuous melodic flow"—"the continuity of musical consciousness." Particularly distinctive in this respect are songs that are grounded in the development of the initial fifth; one might say that they are immanently symphonic. The creation of such songs is linked to what was in its own way an epochal discovery in the music of oral tradition: the symphonization of the fifth. This discovery may, perhaps, reasonably be compared to the discovery of one-point perspective in painting during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The lyric *melos* is distinguished by its special relationship to time, just as painting is distinguished by its special relationship to perspective.

Melodically, lyric songs are customarily grounded in the establishment and development of one intonation or another, often the fifth. That is the basis from which melody emerges, blossoms forth, and comes to fruition. Musical feeling in the drawn-out song has the ability to expand the melodic framework to such an extent that it can become impossible to fill it with meaningful language. As Valentin Moshkov has so cleverly put it, the melodies of drawn-out songs are "more expansive than the words. Singers slip the melody over the words as if it were a giant's clothing draped over a gnome."[39] But the essence of such songs by no means lies in the fact that their syllables are extended melodically; syllabic protraction can be found in songs from a wide variety of genres. The essence of these songs lies instead in the fact that their verbal narration gives way, as it were, to *melodic* "narration": the *melodic speech* holding them together unravels. Here, melodic speech is the materialization of *musical* thought. This is something we may legitimately call a *lyric revolution*. It is not the zigzag of evolution, but a paradigm shift in art—not so much in the realm of interrelationship between melody and text as in the realm of the exclusively melodic. In short, there is a transition at the heart of drawn-out song to a new formal and creative ideal.

[39] Moshkov 1890: 67–68. (Cf. in reprint: Moshkov 2003: 32.)

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According to Nina Gerasimova-Persidskaia, the beginning of the modern era can be traced to the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. These years mark "a turning point in musical thinking."[40] Gerasimova-Persidskaia emphasizes a fact that is of crucial importance for us: it was in the seventeenth century that *movement* as such was discovered in music, movement as "pure flow." Composers began at this time to build *sonic perspective*. It seems to us that analogous processes occurred in the music of oral tradition as well—if not at the same time as in composed music, then in fact significantly earlier. In the history of music, developments have often occurred in folklore first. More than a hundred years ago, Sergei Lyapunov had already insightfully remarked: "...in drawn-out songs, as in lyric songs, what is foregrounded is the melodic development of the musical themes."[41] Pavel Vulfius, in our own time, has sharpened this insight by suggesting that in lyric song, "protractedness becomes the fundamental law of melodic development." Vulfius goes even further, making the important, forward-looking point that *protractedness in lyric song "has far exceeded the boundaries of any question about the interrelationship between text and melody."*[42] Unfortunately, this last idea was not understood by Vulfius's contemporaries in his home country, who were aggressively focused on a single issue: the interrelationship between poetic and musical rhythmics. However, shifting our attention to the issue of *Melodic Protraction* sheds an entirely new light on our understanding not only of folklore, but also of the history of music as a whole. We become aware of the fact that in protraction, the basic extramusical sources of music as an art form—speech and movement—*are removed* and in a sense transferred inward, *morphing* into specifically *musical* speech and *musical* movement. Thus, it is in the free breathing of protraction that music finds its independent, self-sustaining force of expression.

This polysemic notion of "protraction [*raspev*],"[43] virtually untranslatable into other languages as we use it here, also implies 1) the thorough development of an initial, underlying melodic thought, or "intonational thesis";[44] 2) the syntactically distinct construction of a melostrophic whole (cf. the Russian

[40] Gerasimova-Persid'skaia 1989: 55.

[41] Liapunov 1894: 351.

[42] Vul'fius 1962. Cited in reprint in Vul'fius 1980: 123.

[43] The Russian word *raspev* refers to an aspect of melody (both vocal and instrumental) as it comes into being: an innate quality, deeply musical, that makes the melody songful, unhurried, protracted, slowly but steadily *developing*. In vocal compositions, *raspev* may often take the form of a prolonged syllable (at times even an entire melodic phrase may be based on a single syllable of a sung word). Purely instrumental music may also have a *raspev*-like quality; Russian classical music of the nineteenth century (e.g., the works of Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov) is particularly known for this.

[44] As per IZ's terminology (Zemtsovsky 1967: 78 et passim).

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peasant expression "to lift a song on [choral, multi-part] voices," meaning "to erect the building of the song"); 3) musical-cognitive construction on the foundation of the syllable—i.e., the melodization of the syllable;[45] and, correspondingly, 4) protraction as the basic impetus toward freedom from the narrative mode. What we see here is a familiar shift in emphasis from verbal language to the language of music.

This last fact is extremely important, and it has not yet been sufficiently worked through. Protraction is the first and likely the only means of attaining freedom from the narrative dominant—the *necessity* of narration—in the songs of oral tradition.[46] Thus the syncretism of drawn-out song is always a compromise between poetic tale-telling and melodic protraction. It would seem that in the case of protracted lyric song, detachment from ritual context (if we accept Aleksandr Veselovsky's longstanding hypothesis that this process actually occurred) is, at base, no more important than its liberation from the narrative function of *melos*-as-dominant. Lyric song may be interpreted as something that was disengaged at an early stage from both ritual and narrative and *for precisely that reason* broke through into the phenomenon of protraction. This allowed it to carve out its own particular niche in tradition and to occur in parallel to ritual and narrativity as an independent and self-sustaining element of culture. In making this case, we admit that there may have been several different paths to the construction of *musically* sophisticated forms of lyric songfulness, evolutionary paths as well as transformational ones. Be that as it may, the definition of *Russian* drawn-out songs Izaly formulated in the 1960s, as a fundamental trinity of different types of protraction—*intrasyllabic*, *lexical*, and *melodic*—remains accurate for Russian songs, although it is not universal. In the case of other ethnic cultures, the dominant may be only one type of protraction, chiefly the *melodic*. What has emerged is a specific artistic

[45] It should be remembered that the *idea* of intrasyllabic drawn-outness (if not necessarily in the form of "intrasyllabic protractedness") has existed since ancient times among various peoples and has always given rise to many different possibilities. Cf., for example, cantillation, jubilus, liturgical chants [*rospev*] from widely divergent religious traditions, the braiding of voices found in the songs of round dances, whoops and jubilations [*vozglasy*, *likovaniia*], and so on—in other words, the whole range of ethnic folklore versions, as well as the professional music of the oral traditions of Eurasian peoples (up to and including Sephardic "romances"). The term "intrasyllabic protraction" from Russian folkloristics is thus unsuitable for our purposes, given the fact that it covers a set of phenomena that are fundamentally heterogeneous. Not every intrasyllabic "melodic" formation constitutes "intrasyllabic *protraction*" as such; the prolongation of syllables in singing of different genres and recitation styles may be of various natures, not necessarily protractive.

[46] A drawn-out song can be realized fully even if the words have not been sung to completion. In fact, it is almost a norm in drawn-out song for this to be the case. Hence the colorful saying collected by Sergei Arefin among the Don Cossacks: "Don't play a song to the end, don't tell your wife the whole truth" (cited in Rudichenko 2004: 28–29).

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phenomenon: *cantilena-narration*, or *speaking melody*,[47] a phenomenon that is fundamentally international. It is a remarkable quality of lyric melody that its "language" is comprehensible to us without the aid of translation; this is why we are able to enjoy the music of drawn-out songs from different ethnic contexts even when they are performed in spoken languages we are unfamiliar with. As a result, in song genres that are based on the principle of *cantilena*-narration, the *symphonism of* melos—that is, *melos* as a coming-into-being and free flowering from seed to full, spacious composition that soars on an interlinked succession of asymmetric melodic waves—begins to predominate.[48] We hear such symphonism not only, for example, in Russian, Ukrainian, or Kazakh lyric songs, but also in the allemandes of J. S. Bach, in Tchaikovsky's and Rachmaninov's melodics, and in the theme of Chopin's Scherzo No. 2 in B-flat minor; at the level of protraction, the line between the music of oral and written traditions becomes blurred.[49] What is clear is that there was a creative paradigm shift in both traditions—and, indeed, in other, more or less simultaneously developing art forms as well.[50]

To help illustrate this point, we would like next to recount an unintentional, entirely unplanned experiment in the perception of musical masterpieces from both traditions—oral and written—and from a variety of ethnic contexts. In spite of the randomness of its circumstances, we find the results of this experiment highly illuminating.

One day, we were listening to recordings from our digital music collection on shuffle, when unexpectedly, after the bewitching slow section of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 23, the famous Tatar drawn-out song "Kara urman [Dark forest]" came on, in Ilham Shakirov's phenomenal solo performance. Then came the delightful slow section of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 21, followed by the Georgian lyric song "Tsintskaro," in matchless performance by Hamlet Gonashvili, backed by a group of Kakhetian singers. We were stunned. In neither instance was the mood at all interrupted: both of the "folkloric" melodies, the Tatar and the Georgian, clearly belonged to the same category of *cantilena*-narration as Mozart's inimitably expressive melodies. That is why they so naturally dovetailed into the ravishingly beautiful field of European melodicism—which to us, as to other lovers

[47] For more, see Zemtsovsky 2006.

[48] We emphasize here that the essence is not in the wave-like nature of movement as such, but rather in the assimilation of various *reference notes* in the process of presenting the mode—i.e., in the *melo-mode*'s process of becoming a unity. (N.B.: The Russian term rendered as "mode" here—*lad*—has a more specific meaning, namely a tonal coordination and set of functional tonal gravitations within a given scale.)

[49] For some examples, see Zemtsovsky 1959.

[50] See, for example, the illuminating data collected in Sachs 1946. See also Artz 1962; Elkins 2007; Nalivaiko 1981; Lowenthal 2015.

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of classical music, is something vital, an essential part of our lives. They also sounded, frankly, like unique, indeed "Mozartian" voices—voices *from beyond*, from one and the same *melosphere*, fathomless, filled over the course of centuries with inspired masterpieces, the best of the best, works that require no translation in order to be experienced fully.

Marc Chagall, the creator of immortal paintings dedicated to music, insisted on calling Mozart an *angel*. We think, in fact, that anyone whose art falls within the melosphere, whether author or performer (is not any great performer at minimum a co-author of that which is performed?), becomes in his or her own way a kind of *angel*... The melosphere is the homeland of such "musical angels"; perhaps it is that very same *unknown homeland of the artist* about which Marcel Proust, with profound insight, once speculated. The lyric drawn-out songs discussed in this article, from various peoples, are forever "registered" in two homelands at once: the national (ethnic, regional), and the universal *melospheric*. There seems to be a law in the nature of masterpieces: if one homeland does not look after and preserve them, then the other will.

The fact that we are attempting to study analogous lyric songs as if they were *above* or *beyond* nation, territory, class, and historical period by no means implies that we find no merit in the study of nation, territory, class, or historical period. The answers found by each approach conform to the questions asked by that approach—such is the law of the synthetic paradigms to which we adhere.[51] Folkloric masterpieces have three homelands: their geographic "little" homeland, to which they belong by birth and, as a general rule, by the part they play in local life; their geographic "great" or national homeland, with which they have an involvement that is also important and abiding;[52] and their "unknown" homeland, to which they belong beyond the confines of any geography, history, or sociology. This is the homeland where, it may be imagined, all masterpieces of human genius, in a way mysterious to us, come to life and live forever. The breath of genius truly blows where it wills...

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[51] See Zemtsovsky 1992.

[52] On the subject of these two "homelands," see Zemtsovsky 1983: 20–21.

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FRANÇOIS ROUSCHITZKI'S "MUSIQUE ORIENTALE" (1834) AS A SOURCE FOR THE CREATION OF URBAN MUSIC IN MOLDOVA

WALTER ZEV FELDMAN

ABSTRACT

The goal of the present discussion of an early nineteenth century notated collection of Moldavian urban music will be to determine to what degree this repertoire functioned as a coherent whole; to see to what extent specific parts of the collection can be better elucidated by reference to Ottoman musical practice; and to determine its relationship to other repertoires documented later in Moldova and in neighboring territories.

Keywords: Rouschtzki, Iaşi, Ottoman, urban lăutar, klezmer.

The goal of the present discussion of an early nineteenth century notated collection of Moldavian urban music will be to determine to what degree this repertoire functioned as a coherent whole; to see to what extent specific parts of the collection can be better elucidated by reference to Ottoman musical practice; and to determine its relationship to other repertoires documented later in Moldova and in neighboring territories.

The Collection was published first in Iaşi in 1834. Over a century later it was republished in Bucharest by Gheorghe Ciobanu in 1978 (in volume 2 of *Izvoare*) and then by Boris Kotliarov in Chişinău in 1981. Almost a decade earlier—in 1972—also in Chişinău, Petru Stoianov published many of the Moldavian songs from Rouschitzki in his collection *500 Melodii de Jocuri din Moldova*.[1] Kotliarov did not seem to be aware of Ciobanu's publication, but his edition is prefaced by far more complete biographical information than Ciobanu had supplied, to which we will turn below. Kotliarov wrote in 1981: "The notebook of Rouschitzki was the first musical-folkloric collection published in Moldova, and for this reason it is of fundamental interest."[2] He also did not seem to be aware of the overlaps with the somewhat earlier musical collection Anonymus Moldavus (also published by

[1] Stoianov, 1972.

[2] Kotliarov, 1981: 5.

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Ciobanu). But even without attempting the probably impossible task of sorting out the sources that Rouschizki might have used, the Collection stands as a major musical document.

The Rouschitzki Collection is contemporary with part of the creative era of Anton Pann (1795-1854) in Bucharest. But as we will see, the relevant musical factors in Iaşi were only partly comparable to those in Bucharest.

The contents of Rouschitzki's book are as follows:

21 Moldavian songs ("chanson moldave") plus 1 Wallachian song

2 "airs grecs"

1 instrumental pesrev, entitled "sonate au pestref turque"

1 "chanson turque"

15 Moldavian and Wallachian peasant dances.

THE COLLECTOR: FRANTZ ROUSCHITZKI

Frantz Matveevitch Rouschitzki was born in 1794 in a village in Csarist-ruled Volhynia in the northern Ukraine. In 1830 he was in Iaşi, the Moldavian capital, with the Russian occupation force following the Russo-Turkish war of 1828. He was then the kappelmaister of a brass band in the official Russian service. He was to remain in Iaşi for some years, until moving to Russia some time before 1840, when he published a quadrille employing Moldavian musical themes in a Russian musical journal. While in Iaşi he presented his notated collection to General P.D. Kisselev, the Russian representative to the Moldavian Divan from 1829 until 1834. The book was published by the Moldavian writer P. Asaki in a very limited edition. Throughout the nineteenth century it was continually known, and occasionally referred to by musicologists. But by the second half of the twentieth century it had become exceedingly rare. Kotliarov located a copy among the papers of General Kisselev in Leningrad, and published the work, with a short Russian introduction in 1981. Through the good agencies of the Moldavian musicologist Diana Bunea I was able to obtain a photocopy of this edition while visiting Chişinău in 2008.

THE MOLDAVIAN URBAN LĂUTAR REPERTOIRE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Rouschitzki Collection affords us a glimpse of an urban *lăutar* repertoire at a specific moment in this era, in which both political and cultural changes were occurring rapidly. Romanian sources mention the Turkish urban genres—some of them of a courtly/classical nature—that were performed in the Danubian cities, especially Bucharest and Iaşi during the first half of the nineteenth century. These included "pestrefuri, semaiele, bestele, taxîmuri" (Turkish, *pesrev, semai, beste, taksim*), as well as "manele", which was apparently of Romanian origin.[3] We will

[3] Popescu-Judetz 2006: 167.

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briefly mention the two securely Ottoman items in the Collection, and then the Moldavian dance music, before passing on to the Moldavian songs.

Rouschitzki's no. 7—the "sonate au pestref turque"—would seem to be an otherwise unknown instrumental *peşrev* from the courtly Ottoman repertoire. It would appear to be in makam Hicazkar or Sedaraban, and utilizes the rhythmic cycle (*usul*) sakil in 48/4. There are three sections (*hane*).[4] There is no separate ritornello (called *teslim or mülazime*), but the final four bars of each section (*hane*) acts as a short *teslim*. It is not clear whether this piece was in the repertoire of a *lăutar* band like that of Barbu Lăutaru, or whether it was played by a more purely Greek or Turkish ensemble in Iaşi. No. 8 is entitled "chanson turque." It appears to be a very simple example of the instrumental *sema'i* genre that could be used to close an Ottoman concert.[5] The coherence of the Ottoman musical style shows that at least parts of a purely Turkish artistic repertoire was still performed at this date in Iaşi.

The other body of instrumental music are dance music. All of them seem quite close to their original choreographic function, and do not display any sign of the mixture of giusto and rubato tempos that characterize much of the *lăutar* instrumental repertoire "for listening" (*de ascultare*) in the twentieth century. Even the more leisurely style of aristocratic dancing—the *hora boierească*—does not make an appearance. This latter development occurred only some time after the official ending of the Phanariot rule.[6] Karol Mikuli's "48 Air Nationaux Roumains" was published only in 1853-54, almost a full generation later than Rouschitzki's collection.

What Rouschizki presents as dance music seems very much like what Franz Liszt heard on his visit to Iaşi in 1847, where he attended a performance of Barbu Lăutaru (Vasile Barbu, 1780–1860), who was the head of the *lăutar* guild of Iaşi, a violinist, singer, and *cobza* player of great renown. Liszt noted the rudimentary nature of the harmonic accompaniment to the melodies, contrasting them to the practice of Hungarian Gypsy musicians, to whom western harmony was "the life blood" on which their music was based. Furthermore, whereas the Hungarians could alter tempi, and switch between rubato and giusto styles adeptly, the Moldavians played only dance music that was still true to its original function. To Liszt this bound them "to the earth," and would not allow their music to fly; no amount of speed or dexterity could make up for this perceived musical lack. Liszt's description further confirms the distance of the urban Moldavian dance music of his period from the later urban lăutar practices.

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[4] I thank Fikret Karakaya of Istanbul Radio and the Bezmara Ensemble for sharing his insights into this piece.

[5] A fuller discussion of the *sema'i* can be found in Feldman, 1996: 460–494.

[6] The creation of the new *hora boierească* by the Moldavian aristocracy at exactly this period is an excellent example of this process. Cf. Bîrleanu–Bucescu, 1990: 16–22.

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Liszt does not speak of Barbu's songs, and probably their encounter was based only on the instrumental portion of the lăutar repertoire.[7] Liszt goes on to mention that the lăutari "wear the long dress of the *boyars* with Moslem seriousness," and ties this in with the usual nineteenth century European description of the "tranquil" and "indolent" Oriental. In the famous painting of Barbu Lăutaru's band, we see him wearing the long Turkish *entari* robe, with a fez-like cap on his head, while playing the *cobza* and singing.

STYLISTIC AFFINITIES OF THE MOLDAVIAN SONGS

Of the songs in the Collection, almost half of them (10) are in major or minor scales, with some reference to a modal system, although apparently not to the codified Turkish *makam* (modal) system. Another 12 make clear references to the Turkish *makam*. Almost all of the songs are labeled "andante" or "andantino". Almost all the dance music is "allegro." Other than the dance tunes, the only instrumental items are the Turkish *pesrev* and *sema'i*. This breakdown of items presents a musical culture that differs in several fundamental ways from the *muzica lăutărească* of the twentieth century. Most notable are: 1) predominance of songs, many of which utilize Turkish *makams*, and are almost always in tempo andante; 2) dance music that is close to its origin as peasant and shepherds' dances; 3) total absence of rubato melodies of any kind, whether vocal or instrumental, 4) presence of rather coherent Turkish and Greek urban genres. Very likely there would have been more of this latter had the compiler chosen to record it, but probably this would not have suited his cultural or political purposes.

The Moldavian songs here would seem to form a coherent style, in which we can distinguish a larger group that is quite close to Turkish modal usage, and another in which this usage is treated more freely (such as nos. 1, 14, 16). A couple of items seem to be essentially Western in inspiration (such as no. 17). Some of the songs, even those within Turkish *makams* are sometimes arpeggiated (no. 21). There is a preference for *makams* based on augmented 2nd intervals, in conjunction with minor (or more rarely major), of which the most popular are Şedaraban, Suzinak, Nikriz, Şehnaz, and Karcığar. Several pieces combine major and Hicaz sections in original ways, such as no. 1 "Dorul me prepadeste." We have no way of knowing to what extent the urban lăutar musicians—especially the violinists—preserved the Turkish intonation, which is particularly important in *makams* such as Segah, Hüzzam or Karcığar. Rouschitzki, or course, writes only standard western sharps and flats. But even at the Ottoman court, the newly modernized *muzika-i hümayun* ensemble, led by the Italian Donizetti Pasha since 1828, used only the same western system.

Rhythmically, all of the songs are composed in either 4/4 or occasionally 2/4. There is no suggestion of a longer *usul* structure (as in the *pesrev* or in the "air

[7] Sarosi, 1978: 42.

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greque"), nor any asymetrical (*aksak*) time. Almost all songs are andante, in one case "molto andante" (no. 10). Only number 25 displays the syncopated 2/4 time of the Greek dance *syrto,* which survived in both urban Moldavian and Jewish klezmer usage into the twentieth century. No Turkish vocal forms make their appearance among the Moldavian songs; the "chanson turque" is in fact instrumental. There is no *miyan* modulating section, and apparently no *terennüm* and no *nakarat* refrain. Thus none of these songs can be regarded as contrafact or local adaptations of any form of Turkish music, whether of the courtly, popular or folkloric varieties. The Moldavian "songs" in this collection have little basis in Turkish, in Greek or in Romanian song traditions. They are also stylistically further from Turkish or Greek usage than are the contemporaneous songs of Anton Pann in Bucharest.

Although most of these Moldavian "songs" were given texts, they display an instrumental substratum that has been transformed into the needs of vocal music. Among their closest stylistic "kin" are melodies coming from the non-dance or marginally dance-like repertoires of the Jewish *klezmer* tradition. This points to a major difference from the professional musical situation in Bucharest. This situation was based in part on the demographic structure of professional urban music, in which Ashkenazic musicians were present in Iaşi but almost absent in Bucharest in this period.

"Klezmer" was a Yiddish term for a member of the Jewish musicians' guild, first appearing in Renaissance era Prague, and then spreading to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Krakow in 1595, Lwow in 1629). The word appears on seventeenth-century tombstones in the Old Jewish Cemetery of Prague.[8] Christian sources from Bohemia and Moravia, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, describe the prominent role of the Jewish musicians (i.e. *klezmorim*) both in Jewish weddings and playing for dances of Christian patrons. These professional patterns of the klezmorim in the Czech lands seem to have come to an end within a generation following the Habsburg Emancipation of the Jews toward the end of the eighteenth century. Elsewhere, throughout Eastern Europe (mainly in the Tsarist and Habsburg Empires) the *klezmer* guild continued to be exclusively urban, flourishing in cities such as Vilna, Berdichev and Iaşi, as well as in innumerable private towns (Yid. *shtetl*).

Uniquely among any known Jewish cultures worldwide, the *klezmorim* created a single system of musical genres, both for listening and for dancing, throughout a very wide geographical territory, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Like the Yiddish language, *klezmer* music was diffused eastward and northward from Bohemia and the Danubian regions in the course of the later sixteenth century. By the end of that century and the beginning of the next, the *klezmer* guild was established throughout the broad Polish-Lithuanian

[8] Zaagsma, 2000, 7: 41–47.

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Commonwealth, which was now the home to the vast majority of the Jewish population of Europe.

The new Yiddish linguistic usage *klezmer* reflected the upward mobility of Jewish instrumentalists, who were at last permitted to form their own guild, as can be seen from the Lwow charter of 1629. The guild retained the same name (klezmer) and most of the same privileges for almost four centuries throughout Jewish Eastern Europe, and soon become largely—although not completely—hereditary. While, following the Russian annexation of much of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1793–95), the Tsarist Imperial government did not recognize Jewish communal organizations, the klezmorim still had de facto control over Jewish wedding music. This situation continued until the Soviet Revolution.

The klezmorim had been instrumentalists, from the beginning mainly violinists and *cimbalists*. For over three centuries the instrumentation of the klezmer ensemble was highly fixed, as first specified in the Czech sources. The klezmer *kapelye* was led by a violin, and accompanied by a second violin (*sekund*), a portable cimbalom (*tsimbl*) and a bowed bass. At times a baroque wooden flute also appeared in the ensemble. Rarely a flautist or even a *cimbalist* might be a band leader.[9]

Once the Ashkenazic klezmorim settled in Ottoman-ruled Moldova during the later seventeenth century they seem to have become a major part of secular musical life for urban society in general. After the Prut Campaign of 1711, in which Czar Peter the Great attempted an unsuccessful invasion of the Bessarabian Hotin region—with the connivance of Voyvod Demetrius Cantemir—the Ottomans removed the native Moldavian and Wallachian princes. They substituted for them Greek princes from the Fener (Phenar) area of Constantinople. This quickly led to the entrance of numerous Greek and Jewish merchants and craftsmen, both Sephardim from the South and Ashkenazim from the North. Among the skilled Ashkenazic immigrants were the klezmorim.

Thus by the 1740s the klezmer *cimbalist* Solomon Ţimbelarul (Shloyme der Tsimbler) became a court musician for the Phanariot Voyvod Ioan Mavrocordat, in Iaşi. By the next generation Icik Ţambalciu was the cimbalist for Barbu Lăutaru.[10] Probably on a less exalted social level, the research of Itzik Svart showed the regular trips abroad as far as Istanbul by mixed groups of klezmer and Moldavian lăutar musicians. These are documented by letters preserved in the klezmer synagogue in Iaşi, from the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The English travel writer Julia Pardoe wrote about their public performances in the Ottoman capital during the 1830s at "The Sweet Waters of Asia", near Anadolu Hisari.[11]

[9] Basic information about the klezmer profession can be found my monograph *Klezmer: Music, History and Memory* (Oxford 2016), chapter 2 (59–98); the klezmer ensemble in chapter 3 (99–116).
[10] Svart (Kara), 1974: 3.
[11] Pardoe, 1839. I present the complete quotation in my article "Klezmer Tunes for the Christian Bride..." (Feldman, 2020: 9).

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THE ROUSCHITZKI "SONGS" AND LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY KLEZMER MELODIES

Outside of the borders of Moldova, stylistically related klezmer melodies include pieces from the same years as the Rouschitzki Collection, one or two generations prior, and then a century later. Sources include the klezmer manuscript of the well-known cantor Hirsch Weintraub (1811–1881), dating from the 1820s and '30s. Weintraub was also a fine amateur fiddler and he compiled a book of klezmer tunes that he composed when he traveled from his native Dubno in Volhynia to Lemberg (Lvov) and Vienna.[12] He eventually became a reform cantor in Königsburg (Kaliningrad). We will also discuss the manuscript of the Bavarian and Berlin cantor Aaron Beer (1739–1821), dating from between the 1760s and 1791.[13]

As an example for these connections we will examine Rouschitzki's no. 25, which he calls simply "chanson moldave," tempo andante. He gives it no text in Romanian or any other language, which implies that it was an instrumental melody—like the "chanson turque" (no. 8).

Ex. 1: Rouschitzki no. 25

Rhythmically the melody spreads over two measures of 4/4, each section is created from four units of 8/4. It utilizes a rhythmic formula derived from the Greek dances *syrto* or *balos*; while this formula is known in Turkey it is always associated with Greek or Albanian folkmusic. The *syrto* was already documented in Istanbul in 1751 by Charles Fonton, French interpreter for the Sublime Porte, as

[12] The manuscript is housed in the Birnbaum Collection of Hebrew Union College in Cincinatti; I gained access to a copy at the New York campus of HUC thanks to the help of Professor Mark Kligman.

[13] Adler states in RISM that MUS 79 contains 50 items, first 30 are attributed to Israel Lovy. Knowing Lovy's biography this is early 1800s in my opinion, circa 1800–1815.

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"Danse Greque."[14] This rhythmic pattern was adopted into Jewish klezmer music as the "terkisher dobriden," called also "der Frenk" (The Sephardi).

A stylistic "kin" of this musical structure appears in the late eighteenth century Berlin manuscript of Aaron Beer, with a slightly different form of underlying ostinato.[15]

Ex. 2: Beer no. 404 "adagio"

Created in two sections, each one out of four units of eight quarter notes. It is based on an augmented second scale on A—the Turkish makam Hicaz—and it resolves itself as minor. Within rather limited expanse, this melody displays considerable ingenuity in its modulation and melodic progression, which seems to blend Turkish and Ashkenazic features. However, taken in the context of this much larger manuscript of over 400 items, it is necessary to make a few further points. While Beer was the chief cantor (hazzan) of the Old Synagogue in Berlin, the manuscript abounds in instrumentally-based items of various inspirations, both from the West and from the East. Alongside many dances in the *style galante*, we find over a dozen melodies in long rhythmic cycles and modality fully comparable to Ottoman makams, as well as the structure in discrete sections (hane) with ritornello (teslim). In other words, essentially the Ottoman *peşrev* instrumental form we have seen as Rouschitzki's no. 7 "sonate ou pestref turque." It must be borne in mind that the *peşrev* was the leading genre of the military and official Ottoman Mehterhane ensemble. What is remarkable of course is its resonance in a Jewish musical source in Berlin.

Returning to Rouschitzki's no. 25, the modality of the song would be described as a "chromatic mode with two tonal centers." In Romanian as "modul cromatic mixt bicentrat", according to V. Chiseliță's article from 2007.[16] In Ottoman music this would be termed makam Karcığar, in this case on E. This features a minor tetrachord followed by Araban (augmented 2nd) on the fourth degree. The second part (line 3–4) treats the upper tetrachord (in Hicaz/Araban);

[14] Fonton, 1751, example no. 6; edited by Eckhard Neubauer 1986: 324–377.
[15] See Idelsohn, 1932.
[16] Chiseliță, 2007: 14–28.

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in its second repetition (line 4) it cadences into the minor tetrachord on E. This would seem to be among the least westernized of the items in the Collection, without transposition or arpeggiation.

Fig. 1: Turkish Makams and Makam Karcığar[17]

In Turkish culture Karcığar was regarded as the most secular of makams. Not really a part of rural Turkish folklore, it was most common within urban dance music, especially of Gypsy and Greek professional dancers. It was not widely used in either courtly music, or in the mystical ceremonies and hymns of the Halveti, Bektaşi or Mevlevi dervishes.

A striking parallel to Rouschizki's no. 25 is Weintraub's tune no. 26, which he had composed in his home-town of Dubno.

Ex. 3: Weintraub *nigndl* no. 26

This is evidently also an andante melody, but its rhythmic structure does not appear anywhere in the Rouschitzki collection—it is considerably more elaborate than the *sema'i* melodies in 6/8 found there. Weintraub's melody in

[17] Cf. Feldman 2016: 385.

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part 1 hovers between a G major tetrachord and A minor, before finally resolving on the latter. The impression of A minor becomes stronger in part 2, which is emphasized by the octave in measure 4. Part 3 begins with a poignant striking of the flattened 5th degree announcing the appearance of makam Karcığar, before cadencing in the original A minor. Part 4 simplifies the same modal material before closing in A minor once again. I would call attention to the transition from the augmented 2nd tetrachord on d to the final resolution in A minor in this part in comparison with the second half of Rouschitzki's first part (measures 5–8):

Ex. 4: a) Rouschitzki no. 25, part 1, measures 5–8
b) Weintraub no. 26, part 4, measures 5–8

Both melodies cancel out the augmented 2nd species in much the same way, by creating a minor melody exactly in its place on the scale. In both cases it emphasizes the minor third of the lower tetrachord: G for Rouschitzki, which is in E, and c for Weintraub, which is in A. In this case it is not the specific melodies that are similar, but the general modal usage.

These Karcığar melodies in the Weintraub manuscript raise interesting questions. Although Weintraub traveled widely in Eastern Europe, and as far west as Vienna, he is not known to have visited Ottoman Moldova. Taken together with the Ottoman musical usages found in the Beer manuscript in late eighteenth century Berlin, it would seem that klezmer and *khazzanic* musicians had been aware of these Ottoman practices even in the Polish and Prussian territories. Thus, it might be productive to consider the possible role of Moldavian, Greek and Jewish musicians in co-creating a mixed Eastern and Western style of urban music, with an intimate blend of instrumental and vocal genres.[18]

As I had noted in the Introduction to my 2016 monograph *Klezmer: Music, History and Memory*, this professional instrumental repertoire of East European Jews was composed of distinct "stocks" taken from Renaissance dance music, Baroque music of various genres, Ashkenazic liturgical modality and Greco-Ottoman music of various genres. These musical stocks were distributed in a rather similar fashion among the Yiddish-speaking Jewish communities from Lithuania in the North to Moldova in the South. During the eighteenth century Polish and

[18] This was in fact part of my recent fellowship in Advanced Jewish Studies at Oxford University about "Ottoman Musical Sources as Antecedents for the Ottoman Stock within the Klezmer Musical Fusion."

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Bohemian klezmorim penetrated as far West as the fairs in Dresden and Leipzig in Prussia. During this century there is some evidence that klezmer ensembles performed some forms of Turkish music—probably first of all those connected with the Janissary Mehterhane—for the Gentile aristocracy. A relevant document is the appearance of a Jewish klezmer band from the Prague Ghetto performing Turkish music for the Habsburg Emperor Leopold II in 1791. Over a century earlier (in 1674) we learn of groups of "Jewish, Karaite, Gypsy and Turkish" dancers performing for a Polish aristocratic entertainment in Warsaw for the Hetman Klucki.[19]

Although we lack more detailed information, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Polish aristocracy had sponsored the creation of an "Orientalized" instrumental repertoire as part of the over-arching "Sarmatian Theory."

This well-known pseudo-history of the sixteenth to eighteenth century had claimed that the Polish aristocracy had been descended from invading Alanic/Iranian Sarmatians from the Central Asian steppes. Only the Polish peasantry were descended from the native Slavs. At any rate, this connection with the "Sarmatian Theory" may be one of the factors that induced the Ashkenazic musicians to create a quasi-Ottoman repertoire for both internal and external use, certainly by the middle of the eighteenth century, if not earlier.

CONCLUSION

In Boris Kotliarov's presentation, Rouschitzki's primary cultural significance was in acquainting Russian audiences with aspects of Moldavian music, and in being part of a westernizing trend that spread Russian musical practices in Moldova. He also notes that: "His title *Musique Orientale* demonstrates the attitude that was widespread at the time, toward Moldova as an Oriental and exotic country."[20] This Russian association of the Danubian Principalities in general as part of the "Orient" continued well into the twentieth century.[21]

Rouschitzki never mentions who or what his sources were. But since he traveled among the highest governmental circles in Iaşi, it is to be expected that he utilized the best and most respected musicians available. Kotliarov surmises that he must have learned at least part of his repertoire from the outstanding lăutar Barbu Lăutaru. He also observes that one of the songs in his collection was also noted in the repertoire of Barbu.[22] Thus while it cannot be proved that

[19] See Feldman, 2016: 200, and M.S. Geshuri, 1959: 473–78.

[20] Kotliarov, 1981: 6.

[21] Lipaev, (1904) 6: 169-72. Even more recently (ca. 1995 in Philadelphia) the grandson of a Csarist general who had served in Russian Turkestan described Bessarabia to me as "a backyard Central Asia."

[22] Kotliarov, 1981: 5: "In those years Barbu Lăutaru was extremely popular. One may suppose that Rouschitzki has heard melodies played by this famous violinist." More information about Barbu and his cultural context may be found in Popescu-Judetz, 2006: 159–187. However, she does not appear to be aware of the Rouschitzki Collection, or of Kotliarov's edition.

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Rouschitzki's collection was taken entirely from Barbu Lăutaru's band, some of it may have been. On the other hand, he may just as well have lifted some items from the Anonymus Moldavus of one decade earlier.[23]

Following over one hundred years of Phanariot Greek rule (beginning in 1711), during which the Principalities had been drawn more closely into the economic and cultural sphere of the Ottoman capital, now the aristocracy and the mercantile classes of Iaşi and Bucharest were beginning to see themselves as belonging to Europe. The effects of this change on many aspects of Romanian urban life—including music—are well known in their main lines. But even this short analysis of the contents of Rouschitzki's collection suggest certain conclusions that are more specific.

The Collection sharpens our understanding of the fundamental difference separating the *muzica lăutărească* of Barbu Lăutaru's time on the one hand, and that of the early to mid-twentieth century on the other. And despite the appearance of some items of bona fide Turkish origin, and the use of several Turkish makams, the fundamental musical thinking behind the creation of the Moldavian urban song is not Ottoman. This song repertoire shows a musical coherence of its own, which is not, apparently based on Moldavian folklore.

The above examples of social history, taken together with the few surviving musical data from the relevant manuscripts would seem to show a confluence of urban music-making in which Moldavian, Greek and Ashkenazic Jewish musicians must have teamed their forces to create new combinations of vocal music with an instrumental substratum, utilizing both Ottoman makams and Western ideas of arpeggiation and harmony. Ashkenazic klezmorim and *hazzanim* all through Eastern and even parts of Central Europe had several generations of experience with such East-West musical combinations. Once they immigrated in significant numbers into the Ottoman-ruled Moldavian cities, evidently they were able to collaborate with both local and Greek musicians to develop a new urban style.

As is well known, the various forms of foreign and native rule until the period of the Crimean War, and the eventual independence of the Kingdom of Romania in 1878 led to a novel emphasis on the development of the native Romanian musical elements. Within the next generations—in the Romanian-ruled territory—this would lead to new forms of *muzică lăutărească* in which neither the Greek nor the Jewish musical input would be as dominant. East of the Prut, in Russian Bessarabia, the Jewish—and to a lesser extent also the Greek—musical practices would remain significant until just after the Second World War. Yet the early nineteenth century, in which both the Anonymus

[23] Popescu-Judetz, 2006: 183.

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Moldavus and the Rouschitzki Collection were created, represented a unique moment in which all of these musical strands from the East and from the West could be woven together harmoniously.[24]

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[24] The author thanks Ms. Christina Crowder, of the Klezmer Institute in New York, for her digitization of the music examples.

ERRATA: On page 10 (and footnote 9) of my previous article in REF/JEF 1-2/2020 (Feldman, 2020), I conflate two separate klezmer '78 recordings from pre-WWI Istanbul. The first is "Kleftiko Vlachiko" by Orchestra Goldberg, Odeon 1908; the second is "Sirba" by Orfeon Orchestra, 1910.

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THE OTTOMAN CLASSICAL MUSIC IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES

EDUARD RUSU

ABSTRACT

So called in modern terminology, the Ottoman classical music was a constant presence in the two extra-Carpathian Romanian capitals, starting with the period of the Phanariot rulers – even if there is previous evidence of its presence here – which monopolized the Romanian musical manifestation more than a century. These bands, highly sought after and appreciated by the Romanian rulers, were brought here to imitate the Oriental fashion and to show their power, as this privilege was an exclusively princely one. The Ottoman classical music becomes an unquestionable presence starting with the mentioned period and exerts a decisive influence in the development of Romanian music, precisely through fiddlers. Given the new lifestyle brought and implemented by the Phanariot rulers, the Oriental music could not be missing; it even contributed to the suggestion and rising of princely prerogatives. This is primarily due to the fact that it was an exotic music, and its possession presupposed a certain financial potency, but also a certain status. Secondly, no one but the ruler had such music, because it was an attribute of the ruler.

Keywords: Ottoman classical music, Moldavia, Wallachia, The Ottoman Empire, ruler, sultan.

INTRODUCTION

The Turkish music, as it was called at the time, or the Ottoman classical music, according to modern terminology, which is also the correct one, had a crucial impact on the Romanian music culture, being a strong source of inspiration for fiddlers, those who, although they sang music at the princely court for centuries, with the influence of the Oriental music they appropriated many of its characteristic elements, such as the Oriental musical scales or melismatic technique, which they combined with local ones, resulting in the so-called fiddle music that has been preserved to some extent to this day.

We consider necessary to make a foray in the history of this musical category, but also in the aspects related to its definition or theoretical elements

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because in the Romanian historiography, the Ottoman classical music is often confused with mehterhane[1], largely due to the inaccuracies of sources, which they wind their way to the correct understanding and identification. In fact, they cannot be very precise since every foreign chronicler or traveler, knowledgeable or not, perceives reality according to his own knowledge and renders it as such.

THE OTTOMAN CLASSICAL MUSIC – DEFINITION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

"Turkish classical music is one of the branches of Oriental music. It does not represent the popular traditions of music in Anatolia or those of the Turkish peoples in Central Asia, but it is the music of the Ottoman era, performed in the Serai, in the monasteries of the dervishes (*tekke* [author's emphasis]), in its former harems and palaces in slum cafés and it was exhibited in parks and city squares. The Turkish classical music remains the most refined music expression of the Near and Middle East, Turkey being the country where it reached its most advanced and refined stage"[2].

The Ottoman classical music or Serai music is the music most often played in the presence of the sultan – being the most appreciated by him – in the inner courtyard of the Palace (Enderun) or in the Harem and most likely rarely in the outer courtyard (Birun)[3], taking into account the nature of this music. It develops as a kind of "subtle" music from the musicality of the Persian poetry, the sultan gathering musicians who compose verses of the classical Persian poetry at his Court. Mastering the rules of prosody and music, the performers are both poets and musicians[4]. Although music was allowed in the first phase only to accompany the verses of the *Qur'an* in the Arabs – in other contexts being perceived as hostile – this did not happen in the Ottomans. They encouraged the development of music outside of religion, and they facilitated the development of instrumental and vocal-instrumental music through Persian influence, which spread the idea of the love of life through music and lyrics[5].

Starting with the 15th century, this music developed as a Turkish-Persian one, because it represented the common expression of the same territory (Rumelia-Eastern Persia), and the musical style and the code of practical and technical rules were taken after the Persian model. Subsequently, through the local influences of the Turkish peoples, added to the Persian foundation, the Ottoman classical music becomes an independent expression, surpassing even in diversity, variety and complexity the Persian one. These transformations are due to the music creators of the Ottoman Empire, of different nationalities, such as: Turks, Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Persians, Armenians, Georgians, each coming with their own, local

[1] For details on mehterhane, see Rusu 2020e, 2020b, 2020a, 2018a.
[2] Quoted in Popescu-Judetz 1973: 29.
[3] Soydaş 2011: 2.
[4] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 12.
[5] Idem: 30-31.

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influences, and thus giving a new perspective to this ongoing developing music[6]. Therefore, it is more proper to call this music to be Ottoman and not Turkish, because several nationalities from the empire "contributed" to its creation and development.

Sultan Mehmed IV (1623–1640) is the one who changes the face of music, institutionalizing it, by increasing the number of musicians in Serai and by establishing a school where the disciples were musically educated. Also now they are grouped in guilds, and depending on the specifics of each musical instrument they were divided into groups and workshops, with a school principal and a patron[7]. Dimitrie Cantemir tells us about the musical effervescence of the time of Muhammad IV when the music was revived, rising to the greatest perfection through the person of Osman Effendi, a nobleman from Constantinople, who was a teacher for many disciples, teaching them both vocal and instrumental music[8].

At the end of the 17th century, the Ottoman music finally came out from under the influence of the Persian music, and since the beginning of the next century we no longer talk about the Turkish-Persian music, but about the new music, the Ottoman classical music[9]. The Ottoman musicians usually make groups of eight or ten people and play symphonies and concerts for all citizens eager to listen to them[10] as the troubadours of Western Europe did.

Institutionalization

The first musical score was published in the Ottoman Empire in 1870, until then all musical genres were memorized. The oral process of learning, teaching and passing on to new generations has been called "meşk". The operation of such a process is mentioned in documents since the end of the 16th century. In 1630 the içoğlanı were attached around the Topkapı Palace, in a "meşkhane", where not only musical theory, various interpretive techniques or a certain musical instrument were taught, but the instrumental, religious or secular, or vocal repertoire was transmitted. Here the songs were memorized and practiced with the teacher, face to face[11]. Gradually, meşk became more than a pedagogical method of learning music, reaching a wider dimension that favored the creation of a chain that linked performers between them, but also generations, perpetuating itself as a collective memory. Teaching and transmitting through meşk facilitated the emergence of a wide range of styles, creating a code of social, ethical and musical conduct, some of these principles still being followed today. Oral transmission and improvisational freedom led to the emergence of several versions of the same

[6] Idem: 31.
[7] Idem: 34.
[8] Cantemir 1876: 217.
[9] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 35.
[10] d'Ohsson 1791: 420.
[11] Feldman 2019: 178; Behar 2006: 394–395.

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work, during which the "original" versions of several compositions, now probably lost, were randomly selected from the existing versions[12].

Classification, division, specific

A very interesting classification of this music is provided by Daniel Edelman. According to him, the "Ottoman Turkish music" is of seven kinds: 1. The music of the social and political elite or the music of the Ottoman Court; 2. Music from dervish monasteries (tekke musikisi); 3. Music of cafés; 4. Music of mosques (cami musikisi); 5. The music of the dervishes from the monasteries of small towns and villages; 6. Folk music of small towns and villages; 7. Religious music of Turkish tribes. The first four types are commonly known as "classical music" and the other types are known as "folk music"[13] not to mention the military one.

If we follow the proper classification of the Turkish music made by Edelman, the Ottoman classical music includes – even in the first of the seven categories – the music played in the Harem. This was mainly represented by dance music, which was performed in the presence of the sultan, especially in the Harem, but also in Enderun. It is difficult to distinguish between dance, popular and classical music, because most of the repertoire can be considered as belonging to one of these categories[14].

In addition, the music of the dervishes was an academic music, because especially the mevlevi dervishes were the most educated people in the empire. They set up large schools of music and poetry, where secular music was performed, along with that of the sect, the ney being the typical instrument of this music[15]. According to the classification of the Ottoman classical music made by Daniel Edelman, the music of the dervishes is also included here. About this, Sulzer tells us that their favorite instruments are the tanbûr and the ney. The famous dances of the dervishes are performed to the music of the ney, one instrumentalist plays solo, and the others hold an ison in the lowest octave. Then a piece of music begins, a peşrev made of four parts, during which dervishes whirl into an alleged ecstasy[16]. This music is also present at the Court of Wallachia, as dance music[17].

Along with this music, there was also the popular music which was also played at the Court and which was admired by the sultans. The most well-known instrument of this music was the tanbûr being used in the Court since the most distant periods, becoming the predominant musical instrument of the Harem[18].

[12] Behar 2006: 395.
[13] Edelman 1953: 9.
[14] Soydaş 2011: 5.
[15] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 44.
[16] Zinveliu 1995: 173–174.
[17] Idem: 176.
[18] Soydaş 2011: 5.

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A very good description of this music and its nature is given by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who states that the most famous musical instruments used by the Ottomans are: violin, cello (basse de viole), guitar, cistre, lute, flute, panflute, ney, tambourine (tamboure de basque, bendir), kanûn and others[19]. Furthermore, the same author states that the music produced by these instruments consisted of very emotional and pathetic parts, semitones and slow measures. They penetrate the soul and they produce the sweetest, most pleasant and deepest emotions. Usually, the same people who sing vocals accompany themselves, a single person or groups of two or three, the instruments being always subordinated to the voice. The music is closely related to the poetry, it follows step by step and accurately reproduces the measure, the cadence of the lyrics and the feeling they express. Compulsory recitatives are not found in the Ottoman music; their songs are based on epic or erotic poems everywhere. According to the Oriental taste the lyrics are very harmonious and always express feelings of love and their effects on the spirit and the heart, through very ingenious allegories and metaphors[20].

Referring to the same music as a very good connoisseur of it, Cantemir tells us honestly that the Turkish music is superior to many European types of music, in terms of rhythm and proportion of words. However, this is very difficult to understand, so that in all of Constantinople, the largest city in the world, there were only three or four musicians who knew perfectly the basics of this art. The reason why very few people deeply know this music is due to the difficulty of comprehending (interpreting) all parts of the tone (the Ottoman classical music also used smaller units than semitones, which made it very difficult to be understood and especially to be performed), called "terkiib" by the Arabs and considered to be infinite[21].

Franz Joseph Sulzer offers us a comprehensive view of the Ottoman chamber music (Serai) or classical music, which totally differs from the military: "with everything else consisting of Turkish chamber music. A long, thick whistle with seven holes and a wide mouth hole, called *ney* [author's emphasis], an tanbûr, that is, a kind of long-necked zither; an dulcimer, which they beat with small wooden sticks and call it a santur. Another instrument of the same kind, called müküm [kanûn, my emphasis], which they pinch with the fingers, as we pinch our dulcimer [*zimbel*, author's emphasis] and is like a harp; *muscal* or panflute; a kind of mandolin – (bellied violin), the *keman*, held on the thigh, which is played with the bow; then the ordinary four-stringed violin *sinekeman*, together with another wind instrument, which resembles a bassoon as a shape and sound; these are all their chamber instruments"[22]. The same character also states: "at such a sleepy song, in unison (I will be asked), will not the ear be insulted by a disgusting emptiness?

[19] d'Ohsson 1791: 416.
[20] Idem: 418–419.
[21] Cantemir 1876: 218.
[22] Zinveliu 1995: 158.

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Of course, if they did not possess the art of filling this simplicity, without artificializing the song with their specific kind of trills, which I would call semi-trills, with raising the voice especially to the songs and many other procedures unknown to us but especially through the variety, out of the ordinary, to fill their measures"[23]. We thus understand that although he was not a lover of this music, Sulzer appreciated the musical and technical abilities of its performers, who still managed to make this music enjoyable.

In general, the music we are talking about was present in various places, such as cafés or even in the street, referring especially to the popular one, which was characterized by François Baron de Tott as a common and most familiar way of entertainment. Another traveler observes the lives of ordinary people, who were able to sing or dance to the music of the drum for a whole day, without feeling tired, even if the songs are categorized as not very pleasant[24].

Technical characteristics

Makam is a term to designate how the oriental music is composed. Each song is written in a different makam composed mainly of tunes specific to a certain musical scale. If a song is composed as "makam sûznak", this means that notes specific to this scale have been used[25].

Usûl (pl. usûllar) is, after makam, the second feature typical to the Ottoman music – it includes all concepts related to pace and rhythm and it was born and developed during the Ottoman Turkish music[26]. Usûl is a rhythmic interpretation, generally by using a drum, which considers the creation of a rhythm set, based on a certain duration, sound and certain accents.

Sulzer states that the features of the Ottoman music seem to be similar to Persian music, played slowly, with sadness and tenderness[27]. He also clearly explains the rhythm of the Ottoman music, emphasizing the key role that percussion instruments play in the band, taking into account the fact that this music does not have a conductor. He states: "in order for an instrumental band to be kept in measure, it will be beaten by the one who beats the small drums with his right and left arm and by the one who shakes the drum with the fingers of his right and left hand on the inside and on the back of this instrument, as well as by the singer on his thighs"[28].

Fasıl (pl. fasıllar) is an instrumental and vocal musical series, with all the songs composed in the same makam. The fasıl begins with an unaccompanied instrumental solo throughout, called "taksim", which is followed by another

[23] Idem: 161.
[24] Çakmur 2016: 18.
[25] Edelman 1953: 27.
[26] Tarikci 2010: 17–18.
[27] Zinveliu 1995: 159.
[28] Idem: 164–165.

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instrumental composition, called "peşrev", performed by all members of the band. Vocal pieces (beste) follow, the fasıl ending with another composition called "saz semaisi"[29].

On fasıl concert, Eugenia Popescu-Judetz offers the most concise and clear explanation: "The concert suite [*fasl*, author's emphasis] comprised a succession of vocal, vocal-instrumental and instrumental pieces composed in the same way but by different authors. Although all the pieces in a suite are composed in the same way, however, other modulations and passages within the same piece are allowed, respecting precise composition rules. They can also be composed in related or derivative ways, according to the theory of Oriental music. Changes allowed extent and pace of a piece to another and rhythmic variations in the content of the same parts. The variety of meter and rhythm is a guiding principle in the composition of the suite. In contrast, the tempo differences between the movements of the concert are not striking, creating the impression of homogeneity in a number of pieces. They follow one another in a fixed order by tradition and become an inexorable rule: 1. *Taksim* (initial prelude with free form); 2. *Pešrev* (instrumental piece); 3. One or two *Beste* (voice track); 4. *Aghir semâ'î* (very slow vocal track); 5. A series of 5-15 *sarki* (vocal tracks with instrumental parts); 6. *Sâz semâ'îsi* (instrumental piece related to the *pešrev*, with which the suite ends). On request an additional piece of any kind can be sung"[30].

Taksīm represents a division or segment in the terminology of the Eastern Arab countries and Turkey urban music and it is an improvised, instrumental and solo presentation. The nature of the taksīm is declamatory, and the musical segments, of different lengths and intensities, are followed by moments of silence. It is also elaborated on the basic modal structure that is built and adorned by the instrumentalist in accordance with his own musical knowledge and technique. Taksīm begins and ends in the basic tonal group (tetrachord or pentachord) of the makam and has a melodic line that oscillates between the acute and bass register. The rhythm of this musical species is free, indeterminate by a musical instrument of percussion, as in the case of the other musical species in the structure of a fasıl[31].

Peşrev are instrumental works, preludes, composed of smaller sections, termed "hane", generally having four such sections. Each hane ends with another section, called "teslim". The grouper is generally composed to be sung in the usûl major style, and there are some that do not have the teslim section[32]. According to Sulzer, the sections of the peşrev are called as follows: "First, *şerhane* [author's emphasis], second *mülazime*, third *orthane* and fourth *zonhane*. Each of the last three parts differs completely from the basic sound or tone of şerhane, and when the third or the orthane part is finished, the first part is not repeated, but the second

[29] Edelman 1953: 65.
[30] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 39.
[31] Neubauer 2000: 143.
[32] *Mousique classique turque. Formes* 2019.

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part, i.e. mülazime. The same thing happens after the completion of the zonhane, so of the last part"[33].

Beste or the Turkish areas are vocally pieces interpreted and instrumentally accompanied, as they belong to the fasıl concerts[34]. The beste is made of four sections, each having different versions. The song used for the first, second and fourth verse or section is the same. The first two as "zemin", the third forms "myan", and the last "karar". The beste type always uses a slow, wide usûl rhythm[35].

Sharḳi is a lyrical genre composed in accordance with the Arabic-Persian metric system and in contradiction with popular lyric, represented by folk songs, composed according to the original Turkish versification method, where the lyrics are not based on quantity but on the number and emphasis of syllables. Both types of lyrics have in common the strophic composition. Most sharḳis have four-verse stanzas, and the rhythmic pattern is similar to the beste. Instrumental choruses are interspersed between the lyrics, which can also be considered as an introduction to the performance[36].

Semai is one of the great forms of varied composition of Turkish music. It is divided, like the peşrev, into four sections, with a teslim at the end of each hane. The first three hane of the semai have introductory and transitive characteristics, and the tune and structure of the fourth section are completely free, depending on the composer's choice[37]. There are two types of semai, one has a rhythmic pattern of the form 10/8 and it is sung before the second semai, which has a ternary rhythmic formula of 6/4 or 6/8[38]. The semai is distinguished by a faster tempo and according to its own specificity, it must end in the same tone in which the first section of the peşrev is sung. The tune of the semai has nothing to do with the previous musical species[39].

In terms of notation, in addition to the alphabetic notations used for the Ottoman classical music around 1700, this music was also noted with the help of the Byzantine notation of the church music[40] as the Greeks did with their secular music, probably due to the similarity in terms of musical intervals used in both cases, which could be more easily reproduced by the notation of church music.

Dimitrie Cantemir has an essential role in noting the Ottoman classical music. He is the one who invents a system of alphabetic and numerical music writing, using thirty-three combined alphabetic signs, taken from the Arabic

[33] Zinveliu 1995: 163.
[34] Behar 2006: 405–406.
[35] Edelman 1953: 70–71.
[36] Ambros 1997: 353–354.
[37] *Mousique classique turque. Formes* 2019.
[38] Behar 2006: 406.
[39] Zinveliu 1995: 164.
[40] Feldman 2019: 178; Edelman 1953: 23.

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alphabet, as well as the Arabic numerals from 1 to 8. The thirty-three signs correspond to the thirty-three sounds of the musical scale, played on the tanbûr instrument, contained in an ambitus of two octaves and a tone"[41].

The instruments with which this music is played are: "ney" (straight whistle), "tanbûr" ("Turkish guitar"), "kemânçe", so called in Persian and Turkish, and it was called "rebâb", "saz" in Arabic, but also percussion instruments, such as "def" (tambourine) and "kudüm" or nagara. With the development of orchestras, instruments such as: "miskal" or "mûsikâr" (panflute), a variety of dulcimer called "santûr", instruments from the tanbûr family such as "târ" or "baghlama" and "viola d'amore" were also introduced or "sinekemán"[42].

THE OTTOMAN CLASSICAL MUSIC IN MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

After concluding this digression, which aimed to explain the main technical characteristics of the Ottoman classical music and to clarify some issues, as well as some terms encountered in sources and misprogrammed or misinterpreted, we will refer to the presence of this music in Romania and of course, to the role it plays here.

According to modern terminology the Serai music or Ottoman classical music emerges in the Romanian Principalities in the 18th century, with the introduction of the Phanariot system[43], through which many Ottoman influences are present more than before here. The Ottoman classical music is undeniably present in the Courts of Moldavia and Wallachia, especially since the second half of the 18th century, when the rulers brought with them from Constantinople the Oriental mentality of living and relating to everyday life. However, traces of the presence of this music can be found even a century earlier at the Court of Vasile Lupu, for example, by various foreign travelers. One of them, an anonymous German, reports on the time of Timuş Hmelniţchi's arrival to marry the ruler's daughter, that at the entrance to Iaşi "the music of the army resounded like the other music, especially that of the Turks and Gypsies"[44]. This brief excerpt shows the difference between military and other music. The music of the gypsies is certainly the fiddle one, and the music of the Turks, different from the military one (mehterhane), also played by the Turks, may be the music we are dealing with here, as there is no other possibility. Within the same context, that of the wedding, the girls began to dance in the bride's room, to the music of fiddlers who "rattled their instruments", while the "Moldavian and Turkish fiddlers sang", and the Turks were making jokes[45]. Once again, a distinction is made between the two categories

[41] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 83–85. For more details on the notation invented by Cantemir, see Popescu-Judetz 1973: 83–96.

[42] Popescu-Judetz 1973: 39. For details regarding all these musical instruments and for their identification in the Romanian space, see Rusu 2020c.

[43] Ciobanu 1974: 93.

[44] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1973: 474, 476.

[45] Idem: 474–475. For the games at the Princely Court, see Rusu 2020d: 94–103.

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of musicians and the idea is reinforced according to which, at Vasile Lupu's Court, there was an Ottoman classical music band[46] because the "Turkish fiddlers" are so named precisely because of the nature of the music they play. During the same ruler, on the occasion of the Epiphany, "trumpeters, drummers, various panflute players [*fistulatores*, author's emphasis] and musicians [*lyricines*, author's emphasis] playing from other instruments"[47], ensured the sound atmosphere of the Court. The remembrance of the drummers and trumpeters certify that the military music was also present, but the various performers in panflutes or whistles and musicians, who did not play the lyre but other instruments, which were not recognized by the author, show that the Ottoman classical music could be mentioned, especially by quoting the term "lyricines", which the Romanian translator says it cannot be a lyre, but we can only believe that it was a çeng (Turkish lyre), a component instrument of the Ottoman musical bands.

About the atmosphere at the Court of the same Moldavian ruler, Paul from Aleppo, in his well-known trip to the Romanian Principalities around the middle of the 17th century, he captures in many details special aspects of life at that time. In such a context, being a witness at a princely feast, he states: "it was a great joy that day, with princely fiddle music band [rom. "taraf"[48], my emphasis] and Turkish music, played repeatedly until the evening"[49]. The author of the translation shows in the notes[50] that the term used in the manuscript for "princely taraf" is "nawba", with the version "nôbe" in Syrian Arabic, recalling – based on information from Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français: dialectes de Syrie: Aleppo, Damascus, Lebanon, Jerusalem* – at an Ottoman classical music band (orchestra à la orientale) or at a music concert. In this dictionary, the term 'nóbe'[51] is defined by the characteristics of a classical Serai band[52], as shown in the already mentioned note. Most likely, Paul from Aleppo distinguished between chamber music (certainly fiddle and probably Ottoman classical music) and military music. Since no description of mehterhane is mentioned in this journal, we believe that this author wanted to suggest it. In this case, we can only assume the presence of such music based on the previous example. The pomp and opulence specific to Vasile Lupu's Court rendered by the architectural style, embroidery, painting and goldsmithing, correlated with his policy, to some extent as an arbiter of Orthodoxy, indicate the coordinates and precepts he was guided by, erecting in a great Orthodox monarch[53]. To all this, if we add the aspects related to music, even without having too many examples, we can still imagine the musical atmosphere at a Court like

[46] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1973: 476.
[47] Idem: 338.
[48] Small musical group (of fiddlers), which plays specific music, takım.
[49] Paul from Aleppo 2014: 212.
[50] Ibidem.
[51] For further details referring to nöbet and its use, see Rusu 2020a: 363–365.
[52] Barthélémy 1935: 853.
[53] Theodorescu 1987: 114–115.

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that of the Moldavian ruler. All these are synthesized by Miron Costin, who characterizes Vasile Lupu as "a man of high and imperial character, more than princely"[54].

Elsewhere, the same Syrian traveler, at the Court of Constantin Şerban and referring to the music of the guests, records: "fiddlers with drums, whistles, trumpets and tanbûrs, Then the jesters, Turkish singers and masks stood all under the porch where the feast took place"[55]. The aspect that draws our attention here is the tanbûr, which timidly indicates the presence of Ottoman classical music, especially if we correlate it with the presence of the jesters and masks specific to various Ottoman dances, some called "köçekçe". In addition to this, we find several places where reference is made to these bands (tarafs)[56] throughout the *Journal*, which may indicate the presence of several such musical bands, first fiddle and then Ottoman. There are also places where the presence of the Ottoman classical music is better suggested, distinguishing between them and the fiddlers. Expressions such as: "all the illusionists, fiddlers and singers, with drums, whistles, nagaras and trumpets, as well as Turkish and Wallachian trumpets roamed the houses of the rich"[57] gives us a clear picture of the multitude of musical groups present at the Wallachian Court. The fiddlers, singers (probably local, popular), Turkish and Wallachian tarafs represent a cosmopolitan and very consistent musical presence. Then, making a comparison between the Tsar of Russia and the Romanian rulers, the same author tells us that "there were no tarafs, no drums and trumpets, no fiddlers or others like them out there [Russia]"[58], again distinguishing the taraf and the fiddlers. When the ritual of worshiping glasses began during a feast, "whenever the names of those mentioned were released, the rifles and taps would be released and all the fiddlers would sound from the ditch and the nagaras and shout in one voice"[59], and elsewhere, the same character says that when the dishes in the kitchen arrived, "the drums were beating and playing the nagaras, the whistles and trumpets sounded and the tarafs were playing"[60]. We see here another distinction between the two categories and the reference to another instrument used in the Ottoman classical music – the santur, which is a specific Eastern instrument.

The music performed at the Court of Brâncoveanu and noticed by Luigi Marsigli in 1691 and about which he states that it was divided into Christian, Turkish and Persian music and was very pleasant due to its diversity[61] is another

[54] Costin 1944: 100.
[55] Paul from Aleppo 2014: 276.
[56] Idem: 245, 248, 252, 264.
[57] Idem: 252.
[58] Idem: 303. In the same sense, by his legislation Ivan IV recommends decency in merriment, condemning those who play the rebec, gusla, drum and trumpet, but also those who practice other similar ways of manifestation. This probably explains the difference observed by Paul in Aleppo. According to Troyat 1993: 50.
[59] Paul from Aleppo 2014: 322.
[60] Idem: 248. On the music of princely festive dinners, see Rusu 2018b: 25–39.
[61] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1983: 56.

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very conclusive example of the presence of the Ottoman classical music, even the Persian music, about which we do not know whether it was permanently performed at the Court or was invited only occasionally. In the same vein, "all the Oriental dances were performed to their music"[62] observed in Iași by Jan Karol Mniszech, he automatically assumes the existence of specialized musical groups to perform this dance music. We can include the Turkish, Persian and Arabic ones in the category of the Oriental dances.

The existence of several musical bands at the Court of the Romanian rulers is also suggested by the description of the Polish embassy in 1700 led by Rafael Leszczynski, who is escorted to his home by "all the princely music", after a festive dinner at the palace[63]. Also within the context of the same embassy, before entering Iași, the soldiers were arranged on the edge, like an escort, for the Polish embassy to enter the city to the sounds of violin music, as "large octaves and two like kobsas, which had their heads bent at the neck, like a lute"[64]. The greeting music is not the music practiced by the common people, but a more complex one, with chordophone instruments that seem to be of Oriental origin, most probably being a taraf in the service of the ruler according to the Ottoman fashion. Also the "instrumental music" or "music"[65] may lead to the instrumental music of the tarafs. In addition, the physical description of chordophone musical instruments, which are neither kobsa nor lutes, but only resembles them, is a good argument demonstrating the presence of Ottoman classical music ensembles, with their string instruments such as the tanbûr and the sâz, in different versions.

All these details indisputably certify the presence of this kind of music in the Romanian Principalities since the middle of the 17th century. Moreover, because we are not yet in a period like the Phanariot, when almost everything was Oriental, the presence of this music is even more important, as it is proof that the Romanian rulers appreciated such music for their Court.

Going forward, we notice that the music of the Moldavian prince Nicolae Mavrocordat, with whom he greeted the Polish embassy in 1712, is rendered as: Moldavian music [...] singing whistles, zurnas, trumpets and drums, and the janissaries beat the drums in tact; skripkas, drymbas, timpani [nagara drum], trumpets and discreet mandoras complete the concert given by the gypsies"[66]. From here we can see that the music of the ruler's procession consisted of three distinct musical bands. The whistles, zurnas, trumpets and drums, together with the drums played by the janissaries, are the components of local military music and the mehterhane, and the skripkas, nagaras, drymbas and mandoras, which completed the concert given by the gypsies, composed the third distinct music, the classical

[62] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1997: 366.
[63] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1983: 178.
[64] Idem: 182.
[65] Idem: 222, 223.
[66] Idem: 594.

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Ottoman one. Mandora is a chordophone musical instrument of Arabic origin, similar to the Arabic tanbûr [67], i.e. with the sâz, different from the Turkish tanbûr, specific to the Serai music.

During the reign of Grigore Ghica II, the Persian songs (rom. "hagimeşti") are mentioned at his Court[68]. This reference contributes to the reinforcement of the idea that not only the Ottoman classical music was known in the Romanian Principalities, but even the Persian music, if we consider the information regarding Brâncoveanu's Court, provided by Marsigli. The same Ottoman music is suggested at the Moldavian Court of Constantin Mavrocordat, who was considered a very pious gentleman who never wanted to listen to "musical instruments accompanied by improper and soft songs"[69].

The festive dinner is the most appropriate occasion during which musical diversity can be observed. Thus, Sulzer states: "At the festive dinners, Turkish, Greek, Wallachian and German music, the choir, the church singing and the cannons – in a word, everything that can shake the hearing – must resound at the same time[70]. References to Turkish music may refer to mehterhane, but Turkish and Greek music, taken together, may designate the same music, the Ottoman classical music, as the other possible bands are also listed. The same music was present during the boat trips on Herăstrău Lake, when the wife of ruler Alexandru Ipsilanti, together with her bridesmaids, sings Turkish songs[71].

Other references to this music in the Romanian lands can also be observed in the case of other accounts of foreign travelers: "as music (orchestra) there was a kobsa, with a long neck, and a kind of oboe, made of tree bark, which made sounds much sweeter than one might have expected, judging by its rudimentary type"[72]. This passage refers to the tanbûr and the ney. According to Dimitrie Pappasoglu, during the Phanariots, at the edge of the Băneasa forest, at the beginning of May the elite of the society gathered and listened to the birds'song, the shepherd's kaval song, the bagpipe gardener's song or the fiddlers' kobsa and violin songs. Turkish music of tanbûr, panflute and keman are also played here[73].

Considering the fact that the Ottoman classical music was brought en masse to the Romanian Principalities with the Phanariot rulers, and its safe presence is recorded since the mid-17th century, in contexts that unquestionably indicate the suggestion and representation of the power of the one who disposed and supported financially, this approach, that is, of the ruler, we truly consider that this kind of music unquestionably highlights the music-political power relationship in this case

[67] Bărbuceanu 1999: 238.
[68] Neculce 1982: 725.
[69] Camarino and Camarino-Cioran 1965: 625.
[70] Zinveliu 1995: 146–147.
[71] Idem: 90.
[72] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 2001: 1213.
[73] Pappasoglu 2000: 24.

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as well. Moreover, I have not encountered any reference to the use of this music in other contexts than the aulic court or to another person, outside the ruling family, who uses this music for his own purpose. Therefore, we have no reason not to consider that the Ottoman classical music was not a way of representing the princely power and that it did not contribute to highlighting the ruler in relation to others.

The Ottoman classical music as dance music

As music cannot be separated from dance, because without it dance would not be possible, the Ottoman classical music was also an excellent accompaniment to specifically Oriental dances, practiced especially at the Sultan's Court in the Harem. It is known the importance and popularity of dance to Oriental peoples in general, which is also evident from the Ottoman or Persian miniatures, where there are numerous dance scenes, both female and male, known and practiced then and now at a large scale. In connection with this aspect and with the specifics of the music we are talking about here, we also find testimonies in Moldavia and Wallachia regarding the presence of specific Oriental dances, introduced here on the Ottoman network, which were practiced at the Courts of the two Romanian countries and which increased the diversity, but also the prestige of the Court and implicitly of the ruler, the one who ordered and supported them financially. Although the examples are numerous, some of them offered above, we present here one, probably the most conclusive, in order to have an image about the dances that could be found at the Courts of the Romanian ruler, but also about their diversity. Thus, in 1697 a foreign traveler through Wallachia attends the wedding of Ilinca, daughter of Constantin Brâncoveanu, with Scarlat Mavrocordat, son of Alexandru Exaporit[74]. Although the information is brief, we still find out that the wedding was attended by the Patriarch Dionysius II Notara and the most important boyars of the country. They were destined, among others, with various Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Tatar, French, Spanish and Polish dances[75]. We thus observe, from a single example, that at the Court of the Romanian rulers various dances could be found, specific to several cultures, which were brought here for diversity, beauty and especially to demonstrate the preeminence of the ruler over all the others. The proof that these dances were not a rarity in these countries and that they were generally known consists precisely in the presence of well-known dancing women specific to the Ottoman Court and in the Romanian Principalities, called "çengi", with the Romanian version "cinghiasă", acknowledged by some narrative sources.

It can sometimes be seen, as far as our sources allow, that there were also Oriental fashion dancers at the princely court[76], referred to in our sources as "cinghirese" or "cinghiese"[77], which may be those circassian in the lady's

[74] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1983: 125.
[75] Idem: 128.
[76] According to Zinveliu: 143.
[77] Ghenea 1965: 55.

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suite[78]. About their activity and status we find out from the *Law Revision*, here specifying that they "sings at parties with the tanbûr"[79] and "dancing under tents"[80], being condemned by the canons provided here. It is stated that those who want to become priests and marry a "widow, whore, handmaid, maid, or çengi women cannot be a priest", because the priest's wife must be "pure and righteous"[81]. Also from here we find out that the çengis participated in weddings, where they came in the second part of it, and the members of the clergy had to leave the wedding before their appearance, being forbidden to dance with them, among them or to applaud them[82]. Evlia Celebi also suggests the existence of this category of singer-dancers, without naming them in a certain way; he states: "several thousand women of light morals sing from their mouths and instruments, thus spending time everywhere", referring to the annual fair held in Focşani[83]. We can observe only from this place the activity of the çengis, those who played the tanbûr (sâz[84]) and danced on various occasions, including at the princely festive dinners, and their art was not at all well regarded by the church hierarchy, which condemned it. However, they were a fairly important category, or at least that's what some churches paint. One such case, meet in a scene in the church of Verneşti, Buzău, built in year 1721 where verses: "The emperors of the earth and all peoples, princes and all judges of the earth; young men and virgins, old and young, praise the name of the Lord" (Psalms 148, 11–13) are illustrated by two groups of people, of different categories, having in the middle a woman in a long dress, distinct from the others in the painting, who holds a tanbûr in her hand. Similar scenes illustrating çengis and the same biblical verses can be found represented in the painting of the Hurezi Monastery[85].

We also point out the presence of the çengis in official documents. Thus, "Sămina the çengi women [rom. "chingăriţa"]", the wife of Gheorghe the butcher, is a witness in a real estate transaction[86].

The dances performed by these çengis come from the Ottoman Empire, where they were practiced on different occasions, such as weddings, henna nights, women's festivals, but also in squares or fields, when dancers called "çengi", after the musical instrument with the same name, they performed Oriental dances, to the music of the instrument in question or others[87], dressed in specific suits and holding castenets or 'çalpara', the Turkish version of the instrument[88]. They also

[78] Iftimi 2015: 298.
[79] Rădulescu 1962: 115.
[80] Idem: 538.
[81] Idem: 115. According to Idem: 499, 503, 538.
[82] Idem: 433, 503.
[83] Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Cernovodeanu 1976: 731.
[84] Ghenea 1965: 101.
[85] Bobulescu 1940: 62, figure 35.
[86] Caproşu 2004: 736, document 835.
[87] Şehvar Beşiroğlu: 6-9.
[88] Soydaş 2011: 5–7.

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danced in the harem of the imperial palace, mansions and inns, being considered professional dancers[89]. "Çengi", with its derivatives, refers to the Ottoman Empire and the gypsy musicians[90]. In connection with this aspect, the dances of the gypsies from Transylvania and probably from everywhere, practiced by women had the same characteristics, being categorized as inappropriate and immoral[91]. Therefore, there is a high probability that the çengis we talked about here are also of Gypsy ethnicity, and their dances are indeed copied from the Ottomans, given here the gypsy community of the Ottoman Empire and the probable connections with it.

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From the beginning until the middle of the 19th century, the Ottoman classical music grew in popularity and had a great influence on other Court music, especially the fiddle music, as I said before. Our approach considers the observation of the time and the way in which this exotic music was performed in the Romanian Principalities, then following a overflight of the sources in order to create an image that will reveal the period of time in which this music took root and shape. After the end of the 18th century, we can even talk about a localization of this music, which covered with its sounds the whole society, especially the high spheres. Also with this period, due to some "changes" between the power relations between the ruler and the political elite, the Ottoman classical music begins to be not only the prerogative of the sovereign and an instrument through which he exercises political power and influence, but becomes accessible to the great boyars, who are sometimes also interpreters of it, adopt it in their salons or patronize it to a certain extent.

Starting with the second half of the 19th century, the Ottoman classical music lost the status of the most influential music at the Court to the detriment of the European music, called the "German music" at the time, which is adopted against the trend of the Romanian Principalities emancipation and modernization, rallying to the European standards and giving up the Oriental specificity and the influence exerted by the Ottoman Empire.

CONCLUSIONS

The Ottoman classical music was an undisputed presence at the Court of the Romanian rulers, even in the 17th century. Such a musical band contributes to the increase of the spectacularity of the ceremonies and contexts in which the ruler manifests himself publicly. It also contributed to the musical diversity, and the rulers, its owners, used the presence of this exotic music and as a political tool, propaganda, in order to increase their prestige in front of others, because who else had such music in the country besides the ruler? We can see the presence of the Ottoman classical music both in Moldavia and in Wallachia and as an alignment

[89] Öztürkmen 2011: 80.
[90] See Değirmenci 2011: 97–124.
[91] According to Zăloagă 2015: 535–536.

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with the trends of those times, that part of the continent, as an attempt to imitate the powerful Ottoman Empire, but also as a competition between rulers. If a certain ruler had such music, and the one from the neighboring country did not, is this not an indication of weakness and misalignment with the fashion of the time? Taking all these aspects into account, we believe that the presence of music transmitted other messages besides the sound ones.

The Ottoman classical music was part of the category of fine, select music, intended exclusively for the elites, those who could afford it, but could also understand it. In the Romanian Principalities there is no testimony regarding the period we are dealing with to indicate the presence of this music and elsewhere, apart from the princely court, but also here during smaller ceremonies, such as princely festive dinners, not exposed to the sight and hearing of all as it happened to the mehtehane, for example.

Returning to the example given by Marsigli regarding the Turkish, Persian and Christian music or to "all Oriental dances performed to their music" at the Court of Matei Ghica, we notice that musical exoticism was sought after by rulers, while the more diverse music was, the more the beauty of the atmosphere, the more it sent a powerful message to the guests, especially to the foreigners, who could carry on the "fame" of the ruler.

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Ludwig Mühlhausen, Séamus ó Caiside, *Scéal Rí na Gréige, The Tale of 'Three Golden Children' (ATU 707) in 1937 Donegal,* Maxim Fomin (ed.), in *FF Communications*, edited for the Folklore Fellows by Satu Apo, Hermann Bausinger, Thomas A. Dubois, Frog, Pekka Hakamies, Sadhana Natihani, Lotte Tarkka, No. 319/2020, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 234 p., ISSN-L 0014-5815, ISSN 0014-5815, ISBN 978-951-41-1142-6

Prof. dr. Ludwig Mühlhausen of the Friedrich Wilhelms University of Berlin carried out a research trip to the fishing village of Teelin (Donegal, Ireland) between 25 July–11 October 1937. In 1939, Éamon de Valera, from the Department of Taoiseach, Dublin, sent a letter to prof. Mühlhausen, thanking him for rendering 10 Irish stories in German in the book *Zehn irische Volkerzählungen aus Süd-Donegal* (*Ten Irish Folk Narratives from South Donegal*). This letter "marked the commendation of the Irish government of the efforts that Mühlhausen, a German scholar in the field of Celtic studies, undertook in order to bring to completion some of the findings of his" 1937 research (p.10).

Besides the 10 stories included in the book, Mühlhausen wrote another one on the field but he decided not to publish it (p. 11). This eleventh story, entitled 'The Tale of the King of Greece' (in Irish: Scéal Rí na Gréige) was recorded by the German scholar from the gifted narrator Séamus ó Caiside. The story, a previously unpublished Donegal variant of the ATU International Folktale Type 707: 'The Three Golden Children', is "at the focus of attention" in Fomin's edition issued in FF Communications no. 319.

The author of the study, Maxim Fomin, proposes "to demonstrate that the tale [Scéal Rí na Gréige] travelled to Ireland from abroad". He looks for the origin of the text in "the adaptation of Oriental tales entitled *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, first recorded in France in the eighteenth century by Antoine Galland (1704–1717) from his Syrian informant Hannā Diyāb, and subsequently rendered into English by Burton, Lane and Lang, who were responsible for the text reaching Ireland, disseminated across the island orally, but more so via the medium of print" (p. 11).

The popularity of *The Tale of the King of Greece* (ATU 707) is due to its presence in the sixteenth century Italian collection of Giovanni Francesco (Gianfrancesco) Straparola and to "its later reworking in the celebrated Grimm brothers' collection" (p. 11–12). The interest in the Irish variant, "written down from oral dictation, subsequently abandoned in the archive and left unpublished for

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more that eighty years" is linguistic but Fomin also explores the origin, message and dissemination of this folk story, starting from a series of research questions: "The interdependence of the oral and printed versions of the tale will be our focus: how close is the printed version to the one dictated by the storyteller? How did the German scholar react to the adapted version crafted by a literate Irish-speaking storyteller after his reading of the tale in English? In what way did such stories enter the oral medium and how did they become intertwined with the oral heritage of the Gaelic-speaking communities throughout Ireland?" (p. 12–13).

The case of the story provides an opportunity to discuss a stereotype related to the 'archaicity' of the Irish storytelling tradition, demonstrating that actually, oral stories in circulation are not so old and some of them have written sources, as different from what was thought before: "The Irish oral tradition has previously been viewed as laid back and immersed in time, owing its rich content to the generations of storytellers who learned their trade from their forefathers, the method aptly described in the Irish phrase '*ó ghlúin go glúin*' (lit. 'from knee to knee', fig. 'from generation to generation'), their ancestry ideally going back to medieval times, the golden age of Gaelic civilization" (p. 14).

"The book presents a case study of the so-called ATU 707 'Three Golden Children' Irish ecotype, including its variants" (p. 14). Fomin believes that some of the variants "were adapted from the foreign counterpart available in print" (p. 15).

The international folktale type ATU 707 belongs to 'tales of magic', falling under the type 'The Three Golden Children', previously called 'Three Golden Sons'. The type is normally composed of four main episodes (I. *Wishing for a Husband;* II. *Calumniated Wife*; III. *The Children's Adventures*; IV. *Restoration of Children*. Fomin restores these four episodes from Stith Thompson's original division, as follows:

I. Three girls boast that if they marry the king, they will have triplets with golden hair, a chain around the neck, and a star on the forehead. The king overhears the youngest and marries her.

II. When she gives birth to three marvelous children, the elder sisters substitute animals (dogs). She is imprisoned (banished), her children are exposed, but are rescued by a miller (fisherman).

III. When they have grown up, the eldest son sets out to find his father, to seek a speaking bird, a singing tree, or the water of life. He and his brother both fail and are transformed into marble columns. The sister, with the help of an old woman, succeeds in rescuing them and in bringing back the magic objects.

IV. The attention of the king is drawn to the children and the magic objects. The bird of truth reveals the whole story. The children and their mother are restored; the sisters are punished (p. 64).

A historical and ethnographical context of the 1937 collector's visit to Ireland and are discussed in chapters 1 and 2. "The Irish ecotypes of ATU 707 are discussed from a comparative point of view, along with an examining of tale type's

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dissemination in the country from the 1880s to the 1930s in Chapter 3; appendix 6 complements the chapter, presenting the list of the ecotypes' individual versions, their bibliographic details and the maps with such locations where the variants were recorded" (p. 15). Chapters 4 and 5 provide an international perspective upon the topic, assessing "how the popular publications *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* and the Grimm Brothers' *Children and Household Stories* [Kinder-und Hausmärchen] influenced the formulation of a specific ATU 707 Irish ecotype. The book follows the methodology of critical textual analysis: Chapters 3–5 serve as the extensive commentary to the Modern Irish text of the tale, with the dialectal readings appearing in footnotes, and accompanied by its translation into English and German in appendix 1. A list of the folklore motifs found in a number of variants discussed in the book is found in appendix 2. The list of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* publications available in Ireland in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century is included in appendix 3. Appendix 4 presents the transcriptions of four Galway variants discussed in chapters 3 and 4, accompanied by their translation into English. The book is accompanied by an index that names the persons, organisations and places, the titles of the tales and compositions mentioned throughout, and a bibliography" (p. 15).

The possible influence of the printed collections on the Irish oral tradition is examined in Chapter 4, paying attention to the available printed versions of the ATU 707 tale type at the time of the collection. Developing the comparative exploration, Chapter 5 is devoted to an inquiry as to which copies of *The Arabian Nights* the storytellers mentioned in different collections could have had access to and how popular *The Arabian Nights* compilations were in the late nineteenth–early twentieth-century Ireland (p. 117).

Another important contribution of Fomin's study lies in the discussion of the role of a particular storyteller (Séamus ó Caiside for Mühlhausen's collection) in transmitting and adapting a national and local narrative tradition by creatively employing different elements from printed sources. This process leads to a kind of "productive reception of the category of the international folktale [ATU 707], independent of the store of plots available in the Irish oral tradition" (p. 125). Since Séamus ó Caiside was known as a gifted storyteller, he had been also recorded by the Irish scholar Ó hEochaidh in 1935, two years before Mühlhausen's visit. Typically for the histrionic nature of a real folk performer, ó Caiside chose a different repertoire to 'enchant' Mühlhausen than the one presented to Ó hEochaidh. Although it is not clear whether the Irish storyteller drew his inspiration directly from a printed source or just took over a good narrative from another storyteller in his milieu, the textual analysis demonstrates that "a typical Irish storyteller was open to foreign influences and capable of generating a stream of oral narrative on their basis. This approach opened new possibilities: foreign plots, motifs, images, concepts and elements were amalgamated in the Irish oral tradition. The Irish language was not an obstacle to these adaptations; the storyteller felt at

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home with the international tale type, interspersing, where necessary, English words, which provided the flavour of exoticism and internationalism, thus linking his native village in Donegal – via the magic fantasies of *The Arabian Nights* – with the great big world beyond" (p. 126).

Fomin's study makes the point that an informed research of an old narrative folklore collection is not only a methodological exercise of working with typologies in a frame of historical and geographical contextualization combined with thorough comparative textual analysis but also a truly insightful refreshing of possible answers to important questions concerning the intercultural dimensions of folk narrative art.

IOANA-RUXANDRA FRUNTELATĂ

Darius J. Piwowarczyk (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender in Intercultural Perspective. An Anthropos Reader.* Paperback, 270 p. Photographs, maps, drawings. 2020, Germany: Academia-Verlag, ISBN print: 978-3-89665-907-1, ISBN online: 978-3-89665-908-8

Anthropos is an international journal of anthropology and linguistics, established by the renowned Austrian priest, linguist, and ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) in 1906. Meant for publishing studies about "human societies in their cultural dimension" from an anthropological, ethnological, linguistic, and religious perspective, it was designed for clerical reports about indigenous populations in a missionary context, and in the last decades it opened to non-clerical materials about various societies and their cultures. *Anthropos* is one of *Anthropos Institute's* publications and is strongly supported by the *Society of the Divine Word (Divine Word Missionaries)* as the journal reflects the "specialization in the field of social and religious sciences and binds together SVD scholars and institutes specialized in these fields." *Anthropos Institute* was created by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1931 to enlarge the area of study and the fields of research.

Special issues series started in 2019 with the first one edited by Heinzpeter Znoj and Sabine Zurschmitten on *Churches, Mission and Development in the Post-colonial Era. Christian Engagements between Holistic and Modernist Schemes of Improvement.* Released in 2020, the present special issue edited by Darius J. Piwowarczyk offers a selective collection of articles published in the *Anthropos* journal by various authors between 1970 and 2013 and is "devoted specifically to the topic of sexuality and gender as experienced over time in particular cultures of the world" (p. 7). The content of the reader starts with a brief *Introduction* and is followed up by ten articles, three of which are in German language and the rest of them in English. As the title informs us, papers are anthologized under the loaded terms of "sexuality", "gender", and "interculturality" without clearly defining and discussing the terms from an intercultural perspective and merely presenting case

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studies. The selection of texts covers a broad spectrum of topics, including homosexuality and cross-dressing/ transvestism in Siberian shamanism, cultural construction of gender in connection with female cannibalism in New Guinea, reproduction of gender differences in contemporary Spain, ethnic identity and sex in Nigeria, Balinese ideas and practices connected with sex, and transnational intimate relations in the globalized world. Papers have been selected based on three criteria: chronological - "ranging from the oldest to the most recent", socio-cultural – "presenting a spectrum extending from the least to the most complex societies [...]", and geographical – "covering all continents" (p. 9). The volume is intended as a contribution to the ongoing discussion on human sexuality by providing insights based on ethnographical and ethnohistoric research.

The book opens with Darius J. Piwowarczyk's short *Introduction* in which the editor explains the *Anthropos Journal's* opening to the issues of gender and sexuality as a consequence of the second wave of "sexual revolution, which intensified in the Western world in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, [and] openly challenged and, eventually, significantly reshaped the Christianity-based codes of behaviour related to sexuality and interpersonal relationships" (p. 7). He continues presenting a short history of the most important contributions that were published in *Anthropos* on the topic of sexuality and gender. Last, the editor briefly presents articles gathered in the book and states that all texts "preserved the content, structure and style" as they were published. He concludes that some texts should be understood in the historical context in which they were published.

The first text selected, *Homosexualität und Transvestition im Schamanismus* (*Homosexuality and Transvestism in Shamanism*, 1970) is signed by Giesela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg. Born in 1929, she is a sociologist, ethnologist, anthropologist, and is considered to be one of the founding scholars on the history of homosexuality, homophobia, misogyny, and so on, having an explicit goal in deconstructing the ethnocentric Western preconceptions on non-Western social and cultural practices. Based on a wide-ranging ethnographic literature review on shamanism and transvestitism, the purpose of this extensive text – expanded over three main chapters with many subchapters – is to argue that in some cultures the practice of possession-shamanism (vs. non-possession, trance shamanism) excludes the men and transvestitism offers them the possibility to identify through possession with the female deity, the deceased and/ or the ancestors` spirits. In cultures defined by "rigid sex-stereotypes" in which some "men are not or no longer able to perceive their own gender role" (p. 58) or to acquire a neutral one, transvestitism – far from being a psychopathological issue, "offers an institutionalized way of compensating for lack of success in a male role by assuming a female social role" (p. 17) and performing as a shaman. The author discusses transvestitism related to shamanism at two levels: individual religious driven (the personal desire and identification with the deity) and social (the consequences of rigid definitions of male and female status and roles in a particular

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culture). On the other hand, "sexual and social role-taking by male transvestites do not always occur together" (p. 43) as "homosexuality in shamanism is not necessarily the cause of transvestitism" (p. 17) and it rather depends on the individual degrees of taking on the social and sexual roles of the feminine gender. Finally, the author emphasizes the idea that in some cultures "where shamanism [...] has become obsolete, particular elements of transvestitism may, in a degenerate form, provide a frame for homosexual prostitution" (p. 17) which, in other words, means that some religious behaviors and practices may be preserved in a culture even if the religion that generated them is no longer active.

The second editor's choice is Andrew Duff-Cooper's *Notes About Some Balinese Ideas and Practices Connected with Sex from Western Lombok* (1985). A. Duff-Cooper (1947–1991) was an anthropologist and professor interested in Balinese and Japanese cultures (see also Duff-Cooper 1991), close collaborator to Rodney Needham, professor in UK and Japan. For his PhD thesis, he did fieldwork research on Balinese culture on Lombok Island, Indonesia (1979–1981) and he successfully defended his thesis on "collective ideas of a community" (Needham 1991: 198) in 1983. The paper published in 1985 is just a small chapter from the above-mentioned thesis, namely one of the ethnographic descriptive parts used for building up his Ph.D. thesis arguments about gender roles, sexuality, morality, community, hierarchy, and so on in a Balinese community. In line with the Western practice of social anthropology in the 1980s, *Notes* is a contribution to "understanding the way of life of one particular people" (p. 67) to "better appreciate the variety of human experience and, perhaps also, to learn something from it" (p. 68). The essay is structured in six parts: an introduction, the human body and its care, the idea of beauty among men and women, sex and marriage, sexual activity, and concluding remarks. All these parts work out on the fieldwork research findings showing that "Balinese ideas about physical beauty, the union of people, the sexual activity in which they may properly indulge differ markedly from current conventions concerning such matters in the West" (p. 67). For instance, there are "five skin colors which are discriminated by villagers [...] in determining whether a man is handsome or a woman beautiful" (p. 76), "there is no word for romantic love" and "the Balinese separate the idea of love and sexual intercourse" (p. 79). Besides the elegance of the text and the heart-warmingly content, it is reasonably hard to understand it without discussing the main context in which it was produced and the ends it followed as A. Duff-Cooper was renowned for his critical and analytical skills (Needham 1991).

The third text, *Gender Inversion in Nandi Ritual* (1997) is signed by Jane Tapsubei Creider – writer and a native Nandi and Chet A. Creider – linguist and anthropologist and deals with transvestitism and gender inversion in Nandi girls' initiation ritual. Based on their previous ethnographic and linguistic research, the authors provide a consistent critique to previous scholars who described and interpreted the ritual: "our primary aim in this paper is to present the details of

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Nandi girls' initiation in sufficient details to be able to refute an incorrect analysis of these ceremonies" (p. 95). Traditionally, Nandi is a semi-nomadic, pastoral, warrior people speaking a Nilotic dialect; they are an egalitarian society and are living in the highland part of western Kenya. The authors' standpoint is that girls' initiation ritual was misleadingly understood and that "the transvestism analysis lack empirical validity and it is not supported by other aspects of Nandi culture" (p. 108). While "the notion of transvestism – the adoption of aspects of male identity through the wearing of male apparel by females (and vice versa) – has no home in Nandi culture" (p. 107) and that the "articles of clothes [given by the girls' boyfriends] are not given to facilitate or symbolize an inversion of identity, but that it is the act of giving itself which is central" (p. 108–9), the authors argue that "the real reason for Nandi girls' initiation [...] is that it is women's way of achieving equality with men" (p. 112) and not transvestitism and/ or gender role play. Unfortunately, the issue of female circumcision (largely practiced in old times among Nandi), is not addressed concerning girls' initiation rituals and thus is unclear if there are any connections between them. The paper brings an example of how important it is to properly understand the language of the studied people and, at the same time, how misleading it can be to look at other cultures only through the lenses of already developed Western theories.

Ethnic Identity and Sex: Stereotyping as Adaptive Strategy among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria (1987) is signed by Olatunde B. Lawuyi – Nigerian anthropologist and Yoruba native –, and deals with gender-based and age-based stereotypes used as backbones of various strategies to overcome inter-group marriages among Yoruba. Yoruba clans share "similar rules of exogamy. [...] marriage is prohibited between partners genealogically linked and cannot be approved for partners from families with a reputation for dishonesty, hereditary diseases, debt, witchcraft" (p.117), and polygynous marriages are not prohibited. But many changes occurred in Nigerian society since the oil-based economic boom started in the 1970s and they are reflected in the new social relationships (newly rich men and women, sugar daddies, nursing grannies, access to education, and so on). Strong dichotomies lay behind stereotypes and "provoke a range of attitudes from restraint to full avoidance and can be used as a mean of regulating relationships between young and old or clan A and clan B" (p.123) but, as the author points out in the final part of the paper, these stereotypes are rapidly changing like the society itself. Although the term "ethnic identity" is the first in the title, the author takes it for granted and does not discuss it in relation to sex and Yoruba's social practices.

The fifth paper, *The Social Construction of Gender. Female Cannibalism in Papua New Guinea* (2001) is authored by Ilka Thiessen – European anthropologist living in Canada – and based on data provided by Gillian Gillison on Gimi-speaking people from Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It tackles the idea of gender identity fluidity in relation to cannibalism. Well-structured and

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compellingly written, the text invites readers to reflect upon the idea of in-group human cannibalism/ necrophagy practiced by women (term defining both women and uninitiated boys) as a ritualic act in which "substance and power are exchanged, and women and men cooperate for the common goal of transcendence" (p. 127) and on that, that gender identity is "only a momentary condition" and "reflects an ideology, and not a body function" (p. 127). The author discusses the gendered segregation in relation to myth, body practices, pollution, taboos, and so on, but avoids its entanglements with economic and political activities and cultural beliefs (i.e.: witchcraft). Also, physical implications of women's forced necrophagic practices (i.e.: kuru epidemic) regarded as manly power, control, and violence-based reasons for gender segregation are not approached. As the editor pertinently notices in the *Introduction*, there is no Gimi equivalent notion to "substance" and the interpretation of Gillison's ethnographic data might be misleading to fit theory.

H.E.M. Braakhuis' paper *The Way of All Flesh. Sexual Implications of the Mayan Hunt* (2001) deals with a reconstruction of the cultural dimension of sexuality in relation to hunting, warfare, ritual, and kinship relations. Mesoamerican pottery iconography and the Mayan Kekchi Hummingbird myth are used in order to give an argument for that dear hunt "serve as a metaphor for war [and] that it equally represents alliance. The quarry is viewed by the hunter as a wife and by the hunter's wife as a male partner. The Owner of the Game corresponds to a father-in-law for whom the hunter performs bridal service [...]" (p. 161). At the same time, "the death and restoration of the dear is bound to have had some political implications" (p.186).

Sex and Conquest. A Redundant Copula? (1997) is an extended review paper signed by Peter Manson on Richard Trexler's book *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order and the European Conquest of the Americas* (1995). The reviewer critically addresses Trexler's findings arguing that "gendered violence in the Americas of the era of Conquest functioned ultimately as signifier within a European discourse on alterity and – as such – they do not provide any reliable insight into the social and cultural status of transvestites and homosexuals in indigenous cultures of that period" (p. 195). He concludes that we should not seek to draw conclusions based on Eurocentric materials about Native Americans from the 16th century but to better understand the "limitations of our European sources" and what those sources can "tell us about European expectations and perceptions" (p. 203).

Last paper related to Americas, *Der Sexgeist und der Chusalungu. Überlegungen zum Mythos bei "postmodernen" Indianern* (*The Sex Spirit and the Chusalungu. Reflections on the myth among "postmodern" Indians*, 2000) is authored by Bernhard Wörrle – a German ethnologist. Based on his fieldwork research in Otavalo, Ecuador he discusses how the practice of traditional storytelling had changed due to various attempts to get in line with a globalized

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world. By focusing on the myth of "sex spirit" as an example, he draws on a two folded idea: first, that nowadays people are more willing to consider the "myths" propagated by new storytellers, namely media, to the detriment of old ones mainly because they are written ones, and second, that media succeeded in transforming both the content and the structure of old myths and created new ones, which are perpetuated and considered to be "true without worrying about the truth" they contain or relate to (p. 205).

The only paper about European space, *The Sexuality of Two Generations of Andalusian Heterosexual Couples. Social Reproduction and Arbitrary Biologisation of Gender Differences* is authored by Béatrice Sommier and Alison Gourvès-Hayward and deals with "the sexuality of couples through a comparison of two generations of men and women from an Andalusian village" (p. 219). Based on an extensive ethnographic study (over a decade) the authors draw upon the pre-marital and post-marital sexual behavior of the two generations "in order to highlight what has changed and what remains stable" (p. 219). By employing a historical perspective in their analysis, the authors argue that "man is considered as active and dominant in terms of sexuality while women as passive and dominated" (p. 239) – thing based on an arbitrary biologisation of gender differences (p. 219). The authors conclude that "changes in social structures occur more quickly than they do in mentality and in sexual behavior" (p. 239–240) and that it would be interesting to see if a third or even a fourth-generation will preserve same sex-representations and sexual behavior.

The closing paper, *Transnationale Intimbeziehungen. Zur aktuellen Transformationslogik von Gender und Sexualität im Ferntourismus* (*Transnational intimate relationships. On the current logic of transformation of gender and sexuality in long-distance tourism*, 2013) is signed by Barbara Grubner, Kerstin Tiefenbacher, and Patricia Zuckerhut, three Austrian anthropologists. It is based on partial results (p. 264) from a larger ongoing project on the topic of "Global Intimate Relationships. Tourism and Sexuality from a Social Anthropological Perspective." By employing a critical feminist approach, the authors draw on heterosexual relationships between long-distance tourists and the local population in Brazilian and Caribbean contexts (regarded as a part of the Global South) emphasizing the global process of commodification of sex and intimate relationships as a mirror of the unequal social relations between rich and poor countries. Their findings reveal some facets of the nowadays multi-layered transformation processes of mass tourism over touristic destinations.

Roughly the first half of the selected papers follows Schmidt (1905) suggestion that "missionaries were very well equipped to conduct ethnographic research as they possessed an in-depth knowledge of local languages, and they were in a unique position to observe the life of the people in all aspects and over an extended period of time" but "contributors should limit themselves only to describing cultural facts as thoroughly and objectively as possible" and to let

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interpretations and theorizing to trained ethnologists (p. 7). However, readers, as collections of seminal works on specific topics, generally have generous introductions to set up the theoretical and empirical universe of the book and a red guiding line in content. From that point of view, a larger and more detailed introduction putting into context each of the papers and a conclusion chapter would have been profitable for the readers mainly because many texts lack a presentation of the general framework of their production. As well, for this special issue and non-German speaking scholars, an English translation of the papers published in the German language would have provided access to interesting case studies and problematizations and would finally widen the range of readers.

All in all, the *Anthropos Reader* successfully sheds light on some of the various understandings and practices of gender and sexuality from an interdisciplinary perspective and fulfils its goal: provoking the Western viewpoint about these human experiences by presenting instances across the globe. The selection of texts does not follow a comparative agenda, but rather brings to the forefront descriptive, analytical, and even critical examples from various societies and cultures, allowing both professional and non-professional readers to get acquainted with glimpses of the enormous plurality of configurations of the social and cultural diversity of human existence.

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ALEXANDRU M. IORGA

Cătălin Pavel, *Animalele care ne fac oameni. Blană, cozi şi pene în arheologie* [The Animals That Are Making Us Human: Fur, Tails, and Feathers in Archaeology]. Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 2021, 390 p., ISBN 978-973-50-7136-3

Any ethnologist in his own right knows about the profound connections between the man and the animals. An animal is important, in Claude Lévi-Strauss words, not only because it is good to eat, but mostly because it is good to think. The anthropology studies the economic, political or social relationships built also through the agency of animals. As a means to display power, wealth, social status, our lesser brothers have been used in every human society along the history. So, it is not a surprise that the history of humankind is closely intertwined with all sorts of animals.

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Almost every story about the origin of the world contains an animal playing an important part – be it good or bad – in the drama of the making of the world. It could be the biblical snake, or the hedgehog advising God what to do with the extra amount of earth created (as in the Romanian mythical stories), or it could be the creatures considered to be ancestors of the tribes of many indigenous peoples of the Americas, not to mention the Egyptian pantheon, almost exclusively formed of gods of a mixed nature, half human, half animal.

But it is one thing to know about the interactions between men and animals from the study of religions, legends, myths, or folktales, and a different thing to be confronted with the archaeological proofs of a eons long relationship. And this is precisely the subject of this book. The author, the Romanian archaeologist Cătălin Pavel, took the burden to look into the archaeological deposits as well as into the ancient and not so ancient written sources, questioning the very nature of our interactions with beasts of all sorts. And in order to do so, he announces from the introductory chapter that his focus is not to describe the animals destined to be eaten, but to look for the animals which have a special role in the symbolic universe of man. Thus said, the list of beasts present in the book starts with sea creatures, ranging from fish to whales to dolphins, continues with the land mammals (cats, bears, dogs, hedgehogs, horses), ending with the birds (from cranes to swans, eagles, crows, ravens and parrots). Almost all the ranges of the animal kingdom are present in the book, only reptiles and insects being outlooked, although the first chapter discusses shortly some records of turtles and crocodiles in various archaeological findings.

In the first chapter of the book, named "Grădina zoologică de buzunar" [The Pocket Zoo], C. Pavel tries to sketch a group portrait of the animal kingdom, tracing their relationship with the humans. Whether they are domesticated or wild, their interest for he mankind, stresses the author, lies not only (or not mainly) in their economic imprint, but in their symbolic value. In this respect, C. Pavel presents a series of archaeological findings that put different animals in the limelight. The first one is of a fox found in the tomb of an adult in Jordan, dating from 15,000 years ago. The fox and the adult have been buried together, and then reburied several years after the first burial. The presence of this animal, so close to the dog, in a funerary context is very telling about its importance for the human groups of that period, although we do not know what meaning could that animal have had. (It is to mark the fact that, even though the materials presented in the book are fascinating for archaeologists and anthropologists alike, C. Pavel does not even once err from his creed: to never speculate on the meaning of the findings, especially those belonging to prehistory, which, by the lack of written sources, forces the scholars to be very cautious with any interpretation.) Another finding, this time from a Neolithic necropolis in Dudka, Poland, represents a real feast for the archaeozoologists. Several parts of animals, belonging to many different species (and especially birds, many of them having a funerary connotation either

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due to their black feathers – western capercaillie, coot – or to their nocturnal behaviour – barn-owls or wood-owls) have been found in the graves. The relations of inclusion or exclusion between all discovered species, as observed by the specialists, led the scholars to conclude that the presence and the role played by the animals on that site had nothing to do with their use as food, but everything with the symbolic meaning of these animals, used as markers of the sex and totemic clan of the dead. That is to stress an idea which is often expressed in the book, that the animals have long been used by humans as a symbolic alphabet, even before the writing was invented.

In fact, the examples listed in this chapter (as well as in all the others) seem to obey one essential purpose: showing that, in C. Pavel words, "in many societies from the past, whether animists or not, the animal acquired a social identity, could have been a member of society, and became a persona, therefore an actor in the history of mankind" (p. 31). This is the essential idea of C. Pavel's book, the red thread that encompasses all our becoming as humans.

The second chapter, "Balene, delfini și un pește mic" [Whales, dolphins and a small fish], is dedicated to animals belonging to the sea. The whales, of course, are put in relation with the great myths of Perseus and Andromeda or of Jonas swallowed by the Leviathan. Nevertheless, the author digs deeper (so to speak) in the archaeological records, in order to bring forth the actual remains of the whales. And the findings are related not only to consumption of meat, but, more important, to constructions made of whale bones. Starting with the Western European Neolithic (especially in Scotland), different bones (vertebrae, coast bones or mandibulae) are documented for having been used as parts of houses' walls or roofs, irrigation channels, as tools, such as ploughs or harpoons for, ironically, whale hunting, or even as means of heating, especially in the Scottish islands, where the trees are sparse. The whales – namely, the sperm whale – are also represented on Neolithic artefacts, although we may never know what were the beliefs or customs supporting the representation of the animal on the artefacts of those populations. After presenting the long (pre)history of whales as an economic helper of humans, the author goes to inquire the historical data, stressing the fact that the animal was ever present in legends, myths, and, of course, artistic representations, but without being very accurately represented. For instance, the biblical Leviathan, the sea monster ready to engulf Andromeda or the big fish who swallowed the prophet Jonas are represented with similar features, who, more or less, lose contact with reality, but who, nevertheless, tell more about the fears, the mythical imagination and the contact between the peoples who share these myths. The whale, seems to imply the author, tends to occupy the place of the supreme monster, to be the personification of the water and its dangers.

The main interest of this chapter lies, though, in the dolphins, which occupy an important place in the imaginary of the Mediterranean peoples, especially the Greeks. More than once in his book, C. Pavel stresses the idea that an animal good for food is

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not necessary an animal good for thought, therefore the absence of an animal from the archaeological records related to a certain population could sometimes be a mark of its cultural importance for that population (with, of course, the corollary that, sometimes, an absence could be just an absence). This idea is particularly true for the dolphins. The archaeologists never discovered dolphin bones in the Mediterranean human graves or habitations (although the dolphins were, apparently, consumed in the Jomon culture from Japan), but all the Greek-Roman Antiquity abounds in representations and stories focusing on these creatures, starting with the legend of creating the dolphins from the pirates transformed by Dionysus, the Greek god of wine. For the Greeks, it was a sacrilege to kill a dolphin, not to mention to eat it. The fishermen who caught them needed to release them immediately, under the threat of punishment. In fact, for the ancient Greeks (and Romans), eating a dolphin was as inconceivable as consuming human flesh. But far from being object of a religious worship, as it was the case with the cats in Egypt, the dolphins appear to have been considered adjuvants of men, benevolent creatures always ready to help humans in danger at sea. C. Pavel even suggests that they could have been acting as a symbolic presence in the funerary art, a symbol of hope in the afterlife.

After a short presentation of different species of fish in the archaeology and ancient art, in the next chapters the author focuses on probably the most important species of terrestrial mammals: cats, horses, and dogs, accompanied by the bears and, rather surprisingly for many readers, the hedgehogs. All these chapters are thoroughly documented and in this respect, the book represents a gold mine of bibliography for non-historians and historians alike.

The high place of the cat in ancient Egypt is well known to the scholars. For this reason, C. Pavel does not insist on discussing the religious aspects of the worship of the cats, but he focuses on the archaeological proofs of this worship, sustaining them, whenever it is possible, with examples from the ancient art and written sources. In the same way he proceeds in all chapters, including the one about the hedgehogs, small mammals whose bones are difficult to observe in the field and who are not very present in the recorded imaginary of the ancients.

But the purpose of this review is not to describe all the parts of the book. The reason I lingered on the detailed presentation of the chapter about the sea animals is that it is revealing of both the core structure and aim of the book. The fact that it is a study of archaeology must not deceive the lecturer. Because in fact, despite all the very good documented archaeozoological data, C. Pavel's study focuses no on the history of the animals as biological beings, but on the history of men. The accent in the title of this book falls not on "animals", but on "humans". The sentence "the animals that make us humans" could be interpreted from two points of view, suggesting a double meaning: one is that we became humans (also) because of the way we are treating the animals, while the other is that and we are defining ourselves as humans in opposition to the animals. C. Pavel reminds us that the latter meaning was not always implicit in our history (and an ethnologist could add that we find the

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same situation in many traditional cultures). For a long part of our prehistory and history (until the late Antiquity), the animals have been considered as another form of being human and it is rather the advent of Christianism that changed our relation with the other living creatures on Earth. The ancient religions (and I would include the animism among them) did not really separate between the two reigns. And the author implicitly tries to make us, the moderns, see that we need to return to this approach, if we really want to understand our becoming as human beings.

This explains the spiral structure of the chapters, ever replaying the same idea, passing through the different species, from the smallest to the biggest, from those who are just a bit more than good only to eat (fish) to those who are helpers, competitors and/or mirrors for us (cats, horses, dogs or bears): that humans are indebted to the animals for a tremendous quantity of their lives, culture, science, philosophy and, above all, their image of selves. And in this key we need to understand the final chapter of the book, which comes back to the idea that, despite the largely accepted narrative of the man being created by "work, money, wars, and, lately, formed and de-formed by the computers" (p. 373), the forgotten element in our creation are, indeed, the animals. Thanks (also) to them we were able to build symbolic systems, to create our first alphabets, to feel the connection between species and to question our position on earth. And, somehow, the animals have done more for us in terms of cognitive development than in terms of sources of food and/or fur, feathers or building materials. That is why C. Pavel reaches a rather sad conclusion, that "we do not study animals enough" (p.373), but we have a merely stereotype affection for them, not seeing them as they really are: our teachers of humanhood. And, for every scholar of humanities, this conclusion should strike home.

I will end this review with a word about the style of the author. If I was not afraid of big comparisons, I would compare C. Pavel's writing to the music of Mozart. Apparently, the words are going easy with the Romanian archaeologist (who, it need to be said, is also a poet and a novelist). He is not afraid of joking here and there, he makes a good use of puns and the reader can guess he enormously enjoys this kind of non-academic writing. But under his easy going style lies a tremendously amount of erudite work, which could make the reader gasp if it showed up unguarded. Nevertheless, C. Pavel knows how not to embarrass, concocting the exact amount of erudite allusions and jokes, in order to provoke the knowing smile of the reader and to make him feel an ally of the author, not a humble worshipper to his smashing greatness, as it is the case with many scholars. The danger is, of course, to believe that what lies in front of a reader is just another popularization material, written by another scientific journalist. And, in this case, the loss would be entirely of those who could not grasp the complicated architecture and the very serious work and ideas of this book.

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BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH" (FACSIMILE PAPERS, PART VII)

1 & 2: Albert Bates Lord*: Cambridge/USA, Katharine Luomala**, Sabina Ispas (FL 1917/6/44486; 1917/10/44487)

3: Alan James Bruford***: Edinburgh (FL 1915/18/44523)

4: Byrd Howell Granger: Tucson (FL 1915/31/44533)

* also visible in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 223, 285.
** photos and paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 189, 190–198. *** also visible in REF/JEF 1–2/2016: 211.

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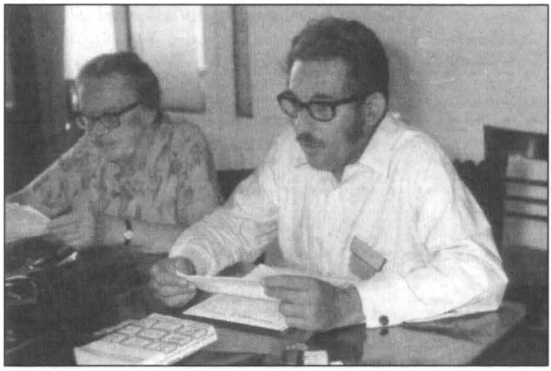

5: Erna Vasil'evna Pomerantzeva*, José Sabogal (Wiesse)**: Lima (FL 1920/7/44578)

6: José Sabogal, Stefaan Top: Leuven (FL 1919/16/44577)

7 & 8: Stefaan Top (FL 1915/11/44515, 1919/17/44552)

* paper published in REF/JEF 1–2/2016: 246-253, pics in REF/JEF 1–2/2020: 259, 1–2/2021: 222, 225.

** registered for the ISFNR Congress just as José Sabogal, his name is bibliographically ckeckable only as José (Rodolfo) Sabogal Wiesse.

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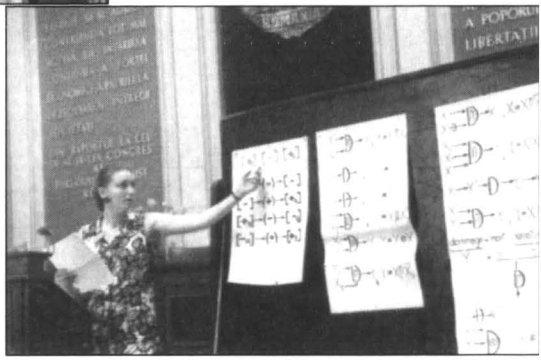
9 & 10: Stanca Fotino: Bucharest, E.V. Pomerantzeva, Nicolae Rădulescu*: Bucharest
(FL 1920/21/44588, 1920/22/44589)

* also appears (unmentioned, centrally, in between Tiberiu Alexandru from Bucharest, and Georgios Spiridakis from Athens) in the 5th photo of REF/JEF 1–2/2019: 183.

11 & 12: Stanca Fotino**
(FL 1915/24/44529, 1915/26/44530)



** in the printed Program she appears as session secretary only (as captured above), not also as paper presenter – certainly a last minute entry – in the main auditorium.

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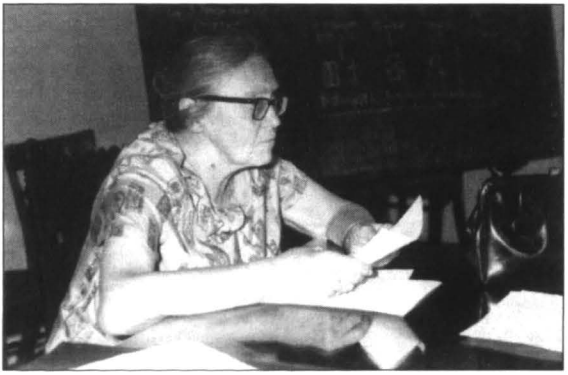
13: Albert B. Lord (FL 1913/39/44422)

14: Nicolae Rădulescu, Kurt Ranke* (FL 1917/28/44400)

* salute text, academic paper, and pics in REF/JEF 1–2/2016: 196, 214–223, 211.

15: Milko Matičetov**: Ljublijana (FL 1920/15/44584)



16: E.V. Pomerantzeva (FL 1919/33/44504)

17: E.V. Pomerantzeva, Stephanos Imellos: Athens (FL 1920/18/44586)

** also seen in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 223; the drawing on the blackboard was seen in C. Eretescu's text (same vol.: 296).

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The Breaking of Oral Narrative Patterns in Greek Legendary Epic

by

Albert B. Lord

Although much has been written about formula density as a test to determine whether any given text may or may not be a product of oral traditional composition, much less has been done in the corresponding area of thematic or story pattern analysis for the same purpose. This paper is an attempt to note differences in themes and clusters of themes or patterns of story between an oral traditional epic and a literary epic in ancient Greece. It begins by observing that certain themes are characteristic of ancient Greek oral epic tradition, and that other forms of them are found in literary epics. Or again, we find a certain kind of patterning of incident in oral traditional epic in ancient Greece, but in literary epic not only is that patterning missing, but any patterning of that kind is lacking. In other words, this is an attempt to discern whether we can really differentiate between oral and literary texts by a study of themes and story patterns. Our two "control" texts are the Odyssey of Homer for the oral epic side and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius for the literary side.

At this stage, perhaps the best I can do is to indicate that a certain form of a theme or a certain theme is found in oral traditional epic, and that another theme, or another form of a theme is found in literary epic in ancient Greece. The same may be said for clusters of themes or story patterns; one formation is found in

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oral traditional epic and another formation in literary epic. The next step is to try to move to a higher level of generalization, to indicate what kinds of themes, what kinds of clusters or patter are characteristic of one or the other type of compositional tradition.

Behind the sequence of incidents in Odysseus's journey in the world of magic one can detect a clear pattern of duplication, not merely of episodes but also of the order of those episodes. The duplicated pattern can be set down as follows:

1.	The lotus-eaters	The sirens
2.	The Cyclops	Scylla and Charybdis
3.	Aeolus	Thrinacia
4.	The Laestrygonians	Scylla and Charybdis
5.	Circe	Calypso
[6.]	[The World of the Dead]	[Phaeacia]

In the first of these elements forgetfulness or self-loss seems to be the essence; in the second and fourth elements violent death at the hands of monsters would seem to be at the center of each of these episodes; the third element shows a taboo broken by the crew while the hero sleeps, and the postponing of the return; the fifth element depicts the hero delayed by marriage to a goddess or other-world woman; the sixth element is of a very special character, and for this reason I have bracketed it in the scheme.

It should be noted that at the center of the five episodes lies the taboo breaking by the crew while the hero sleeps. Exit from the magic world is within reach. Threats of forgetfulness

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and of violent death have been passed and home is within sight; but in each case the hero is swept back again, past the portals of violent death into the magic world to the abode of a goddess.

A second great poem of journey to, through, and back from a magic world is the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes. This is a very literate work in contrast to the Odyssey. Elements of the pattern given above are clearly present in Apollonius' story of the Argonauts; but they have, in part, been taken directly from the Odyssey. On the return from Colchis by a route different from that by which they had journeyed out, the Argonauts, after the murder of Medea's brother Apsyrtus, visit Circe, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Wandering Rocks, and Phaeacia in that order. Although they do not visit Thrinacia they pass by that island after the rescue from the Wandering Rocks. The order in the Argonautica, then is like that of the Odyssey, with the following exceptions: a) Thrinacia is omitted as an episode, although it remains in the landscape; b) the Wandering Rocks take the place of the second passing of the barrier of Scylla and Charybdis; and c) Calpyso is omitted as an episode, although she too remains in the landscape of the Argonautica but is placed between the murder of Apsyrtus and the visit to Circe, and the voyagers simply pass her island. Thus the central episode of the Odyssey pattern (Thrinacia) is omitted, leaving two episodes of violent death (Scylla and Charybdis and the Wandering Rocks) next to one another; the result is that they become almost fused with one another in the Argonautica. In the place of the Calypso episode in the Odyssey, with its essential theme of marriage with a woman of the other world, is the incident in Phaecia in which, indeed, Jason finally is married to Medea. The essence of the

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Odyssey pattern is kept in part (1 - 2, 4-5), but, the pivotal element 3 being omitted, the voyagers go from escape from forgetfulness, through escape from violent death (duplicated), to marriage with the woman of the other world.

The episodes of the Sirens in the Odyssey and in the Argonautica do not provide any substantial evidence of difference in themes between oral and literary tradition. In other words, there seem to be no discrepancies between the description of them in one and in the other poem. They are the same Sirens, and the handling of them by Odysseus is valid for him, and the handling of them by the specialist Orpheus among the Argonauts is valid for them. In one case one man is saved from them by extraorddnary means, in the other a man is lost to them, but saved eventually by divine means.

The same may be said, I believe, for the treatment of Circe in both poems. The two are quite different, but there seems to me to be no reason to think that one is more "literary" or more "oral" than the other. One should expect that Apollonius, when he uses traditional personnel, would treat them in traditional fashion. It is when he treats a more generalized theme, such as "Death of a Helmsman", that he feels no compunctions. He is aware of the traditions of the Sirens, or of Circe (be they the same as the Homeric tradition or not), and he remains respectful of them. But his realizations do not reach to the next level, that of generalization.

All these familiar Homeric places and figures belong to the return of the Argonauts from Colchis, even more ~~xpecific~~ specifically to the portion of the story from the murder of Apsyrtus to their experiences in Libya. Yet even here the Homeric pattern, with all its meaning, is ~~significantly~~ broken. It is interesting to note that the incidents in

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Odysseus' journeying before arriving at the island of Circe do not figure at all in the Argonautica, nor does Jason, or any of his famous crew for that matter, visit the land of the dead, although they pass an entrance to the underworld, to Acheron.

I have now demonstrated how a duplicated pattern from the Odyssey (or at least one found in the Odyssey) is broken as it appears in the Argonautica, and that only one of the duplicates is used or even mentioned by Apollonius. Do we, however, find other (multiforms or) patterns elsewhere in the voyage of the Argonauts? Let us examine the incidents of the journey out to Colchis with the idea of patterning in mind,

One of the characteristics of the episodes is that, while some of them are easily identifiable as belonging to a type current in oral (epic) tradition, others are hard or impossible to place, or are double, having one part oral and the other non-oral. This phenomenon makes the attempt to establish a pattern difficult if not impossible. The first incident, that of the Lemnian women, is capable of perhaps two interpretations, and thus the very first point in any pattern here is ambiguous. Here, I believe, marriage or delay caused by the temptations of the ladies is the essential element in the incident. If so, then this episode would correspond to the first Circe or the Calypso episodes in the wanderings of Odysseus, except that the Lemnian women do not seem to be creatures of the other world. For what it may be worth, this type of incident is characteristic at the end of the pattern we have extracted from the Odyssey, not at its beginning. One might try to make a weak case of a correspondence between the forgetfulness of the lotus-eaters and or of the Sirens and the fact that the Argonauts almost forget to go on their journey, but the sexual and marriage element is so strong that it pushes all other implications into the background. It must be confessed that this is a strange episode with which to begin the journey of the Argonauts, and one is reminded that in Pindar's account in Pythian IV the incident occurs on the return from Colchis not on the voyage out, and the element mentioned by Pindar is the footrace in honor of

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Thoas. Indeed, it may owe its position in Apollonius to the plain fact of geography; the story follows the map, Lemnos is first of the stops on the map, and the most striking tradition of Lemnos is that of the Lemnian women. Whatever the cause, the first episode in the Argonauts' journey fits uneasily, if at all, into the journey pattern we know from the Odyssey.

The next stop of the Argonauts is in the land of the Doliones and the King Cyzicus. There are two parts to this episode: a) the assistance given by the Argonauts to the Doliones in defeating the Earthborn, six-handed men; and b) the return of the Argonauts to the Doliones and the killing of Cyzicus. The first of these is clearly a case of the threat of violent death at the hands of monsters, and belongs with the Laestrygonians and Polyphemus, the rock and crag hurlers of Oydsseus' wanderings, or even of the multi-membered Scylla. It is to be noted that this part of the episode is not mentioned by either Apollodorus or Valerius Flaccus; and Pindar does not mention either part of this episode. Their silence perhaps indicates nothing more than that the two parts ~~are~~ were separable.

The second part of the episode is more difficult for identification as a multiform. So far as I can see, it does not correspond in essence with anything in either the Odysseian journey or in any oral traditional journeys. In fact, its tragic pathos seems to come from another world than that of oral traditional epic narrative. Fathers may kill sons or vice versa, brothers may kill each other, but heroes simply do not kill friendly kings by mistake! Here is an intruder into the patterned landscape of our research. Here is a break not only in sequence but in quality of episode. From it alone

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we might perhaps come to the realization that we were in written literature and not in oral traditional lore.

The third episode, that telling of the loss of Hylas and of Heracles, is also hard to place in the oral traditional repertory of thematic or narrative material. It, too, seems to have at least two parts: a) the rape of Hylas by the nymph, and b) the abandonment of Heracles by the Argonauts. Once again, while it may be possible to find a reasonable correspondence with the first part of the episode, the second is difficult if not impossible to identify. Hylas's rape by the nymph could be considered as either marriage to a woman of the other world, and thus be equated with a fulfilled Circe or Calypso episode, or with the sirens, who lead man to his death. Perhaps, indeed, the second of these is the more reasonable, because the hero Odysseus is not overcome by either Circe or Calypso as Hylas is by the nymph. It is typical indeed of many of the incidents in the Argonautica that they fit either more than one or not even a single episode in oral traditional narrative.

Once again the second part of the episode, the abandonment of Heracles by the Argonauts seems to belong more to written literature, to Apollonius's own choice for "literary" reasons (i.e. to save Heracles from becoming the hero of the Argonautica), than to the kind of event typical either of oral themes or of traditional lore. Over and over again what seems at first glance to be familiar to oral traditional narrative turns out on investigation to be only partially so, if at all.

Let us continue to test this hypothesis by proceeding further in the story of the Argonauts. The next episode is a less complicated one, and for the first time we are really introduced to the role of the "specialists" in the Argonautica. Among the Bebrycians the

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Argonauts are challenged by Amycus to a boxing match; the life of the vanquished is at stake. The "specialist" Polydeuces, brother of Castor, boxes with Amycus and overcomes him. In this episode we have a rather typical violent death barrier, like the Earthborn men in the land of the Doliones. And they are, rather typically, overcome by the heroes, or by their rightful representative, Polydeuces.

As I said, the episode of Amycus is, however, the first in which the role of the specialist helper makes sense, and the episode itself represents a typical kind of barrier that the hero must pass on his way to the other world to gain the boon of the Golden Fleece or of the woman of the other world (Medea). Amycus is a threat on the way, like monsters and unfriendly natural phenomena. Heracles started the battle with the Earthborn men in the episode with the Doliones, but the victory was not his alone, since all joined in. Hylas has his special episode, but it does not consist of saving the Argonauts, or serving them even, in their adventure. His episode, as I have said, helps to eliminate Heracles from the voyage, but the reason is not "mythic" but literary. The Amycus episode raises the question of how operative in the Argonautica is the story built around specialist helpers. We have seen that the single episodes may have such an implication, but that they do not fit into the tight concatenations that we associate with that story pattern in folk tale. This pattern too, like that or those of the Odysseian journey, is broken; elements of it are used, but the tight structure of the oral traditional narrative is missing.

The next episode is a rich one, the tale of how the sons of Boreas defeat the Harpies, thereby saving Phineus, who gives the

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travellers instruction. Here we are on familiar ground. Here the specialists (sons of Boreas) play a traditional role of freeing the seer. It is, of course, a Heraclean role, reminding us of Heracles' saving of Prometheus, and Phineus is useful to the voyagers. They need his advice. This episode has its parallels as well in the incidents of the Odyssey, namely Teriesias in the land of the dead, and perhaps more especially Circe's sailing instructions after Odysseus and his men return from the land of the dead. And here we may have a sequential pattern that is similar to part of an Odyssey pattern. Phineus is preceded by Amycus (violent death) and followed by the Symplegades (violent death). This is a pattern which fits the sequences with Aeolus and Thrinacia as their centers, but it fits Teiresias or Circe only if one considers the whole complex of Circe and the visit to the underworld as one single episode of obtaining information. Then that episode would be preceded by the incident with the Laestrygonians and followed by the Sirens plus Scylla and Charybdis. But the parallel between Phineus and either Aeolus or Thrinacia is only partial, for it is Phineus who has broken taboos not the voyagers. Nevertheless, one is somewhat more comfortable with this episode than with some of the others, and one is closer to the oral traditional type of incident and to the oral traditional epic patterns of sequence. Closer, but only with strainings.

The Symplegades belonged of old in the story of the Argonauts, for Homer mentions them in that connection, and they are spoken of by Pindar in Pythian IV also. Of their position in the pattern of incidents of the voyage I have already spoken. Here would be a splendid episode for a specialist helper. Yet in this case it is Athena who saves the ship, not one of the specialist crew of the Argo.

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There are three more events before the Argonauts reach Colchis, all three of which are omitted by Valerius Flaccus and two of which are not mentioned by Apollodorus either. First comes the epiphany of Apollo, second (and this is in Apollodorus), the welcome of the voyagers by King Lycus among the Mariandyni, where the seer Idmon and the pilot Tiphys die, the latter's place being taken by Ancaeus, and third, the attack by the birds of Ares and the meeting with the sons of Phrixus.

The manner of Apollo's epiphany to the Argonauts is unlike that of any other epiphanies in Greek oral traditional epic, to the best of my knowledge. The gods, of course, appear in the form of humans or birds to men and occasionally, although very rarely, they appear in their own forms. For example, Demeter reveals herself in her own shape in the Hymn to Demeter, after having been in disguise as an old woman. But her doing so is an important point in the narrative. The only reason for this inorganic sighting of the passing god in the Argonautica is aetiological. The learned or literary reason is once again paramount.

The deaths of the seer Idmon and of the pilot Tiphys are given some prominence by Apollonius. Idmon was killed by a wild boar, and shortly thereafter Tiphys died after a brief illness. In Homer there are seers aplenty, and they play important roles, but they are either very much alive, as Calchas in the first book of the Iliad, or the enigmatic Theoclymenus in the Odyssey, or they are conspiculously dead, like Teiresias in the Odyssey. I do not know that much is made anywhere in Greek oral tradition of the death of a seer. The case of the death of the pilot is even more illuminating.

The death of a steersman is an important incident in oral Greek epic tradition. Two cases in the Odyssey itself should come to mind.

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First, in Book III Nestor tells Telemachus the story of Menelaus's wanderings after Troy was taken, including the death of his pilot Phrontis, son of Onetor, at the hands of Phoebus Apollo off cape Sunium. Menelaus was delayed there by the burial rites for his friend. Phrontis was killed "as he held between his hands the rudder of the running ship."* The second instance is in Book XII; Odysseus is telling of the storm sent by Zeus at the urging of Helios after the slaughter of his cattle on Thrinacia.

> One tha after deck
> the mast had hit the steersman a slant blow
> bashing the skull in, knocking him overside,
> as the brave soul ~~left~~ fled the body, like a diver.
> With crack on crack of thunder, Zeus let fly
> a bolt against the ship, a direct hit,
> so that she bucked, in reeking fumes of sulphur,
> and all the men were flung into the sea.

How different, indeed, from these two examples is the death of Tiphys among the Mariandyni, after a brief illness! The theme of the death of a helmsman is there, but the traditional form of it is broken and a kind of flat narration has taken its place, an obituary item. One shouldn't call it even the same "theme," because as we look at the whole passage in Apollonius we realize he is in actuality simply remarking on a couple of sites on the journey where two monuments were erected, said to be for Idmon and Tiphys, and he dutifully records what he could find out about them. There is no "theme" at all; for the very structure in which themes operate is missing.

There is an element in Apollonius's account of the death of the steersman Tiphys that is noticeably lacking in the traditional tellings.

* It is interesting to note that Dictys of Crete keeps some memory of the death of Menelaus's pilot. In Crete, he says, "Menelaus told his adventures.... He also reported the many wonders of Egypt. The serpents there, he said, had killed his pilot, Canopus; for whom he had built a magnificent tomb." p. 121.

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Apollonius is much concerned with the problem of replacement, and the choice of Ancaeus from among the number of qualified candidates on board this boatload of specialists is given some space. The traditional accounts lack that concern. One curious fact, too, about the traditional ~~xxxxxxx~~ forms of the theme of the death of the pilot is that, as we have them, at any rate, they are in flashback, they are included in a story within a story, not narrated directly by the poet.

Virgil is, of course, very successful in the Aeneid in imitating the oral traditional theme of the death of the pilot, and, in his case, we might be hard put to it to tell a skillful imitation from the authentic tradition, but when the theme is distorted, or broken, or presented in a completely different form, as here in Apollonius, there is no doubt that the author belongs to a quite literary tradition.

The Virgilian form of the theme of the death of the helmsman is much more authentic in its seeming (end of Book V), and it is in direct narration, not flashback. The god of Sleep overcomes Palinurus after a brief conversation with him, and

> "leaning down over him, hurled him into the sea
> Still gripping the tiller; a part of the taffrail was torn away:
> As he fell, he kept calling out to his friends, but they did not hear him."

Had ~~Virgil~~ Virgil left the narrative at the end of the fifth book, the imitation of the theme from oral epic tradition would have been extremely good, as imitation (of its excellence in its own literary right, of course, I am not speaking). Virgil, however, did not leave Palinurus there, but, probably with an eye to Odysseus's meeting with Elpenor in the Land of the Dead, he has Aeneas meet

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Palinurus also in the other world, on on its threshold, and Palinurus disappoints the traditionalist by reporting that he had not drowned, but been killed by barbarians as he was about to go ashore. So even Virgil's sensitive imitation of an oral traditional theme breaks down through non-traditional manipulating. There are tell-tale signs of the breaking of the traditional theme in literary hands. The helmsman drowns in Homer, and he seems to drown in Virgil, to fulfill what Neptune had said to Venus:

"One only shall you miss, one shall be lost at sea,
One life must be surrendered for many lives."

The sacrifice to Neptune, however, ended his days at the mercy of barbarian swords.

After the burial of the seer and the pilot, the Argonauts continue their voyage, and Apollonius keeps us informed of the points of interest that they pass, geography, folklore, history, and what seems sometimes just plain gossip. When they come to the grave of Sthenelus, Actor's son, Perspehone allows him to go out and sit on his barrow and watch the ship. After he has gone back in again, the Argonauts land and build an altar to Apollo, and Orpheus dedicates his lyre, whence the place has the name Lyra. There is a sort of - forgive me - Disneyland atmosphere about some of these episodes; but their connection with oral traditional epic is tenuous. The Argonauts make a very brief and quite puzzling stop on the Assyrian shore, and after passing the Amazons and a number of fascinating peoples, whose strange customs are related to us by our poet, they arrive at the island of Ares. They frighten off the birds and meet with the shipwrecked sons of Phrixus, who give them information about Colchis, Aeetes, and the surroundings of the Golden Fleece.

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Phineus had sent them on to this place, without telling them why, and now they knew it was to obtain this information and assistance. In folktale terms, of course, they had gone from one donor to another; and in terms of oral traditional narrative that makes good sense, but the intervening scenery and even incidents seem to have accomplished no more than give a pseudo-geographical-historical account of the voyage.

And so they reach Colchis. Often in these last few hundred lines, it seems to me, the connection of the Argonautica to oral traditional epic is like that between a course in folklore and folklore itself. Yet we have found that Apollonius sometimes used traditional themes, or even traditional patterns or parts of patterns, but not in a traditional way. In spite of his knowledge of tradition and his antiquarian interests, or perhaps because of them, though unwittingly, he broke tradition's narrative elements and sequences.

The "literary" writer, if I may be allowed the term, using oral traditional story material, like Apollonius, unless he is aware of the tensions of meaning and significance in a theme, or episode, or cluster of themes, or story pattern, will have no qualms in changing the elements in question, even to omitting a key element, or forcing it into the background. A sophisticated writer, to be sure, who really understood oral traditional style, could successfully imitate it, but there would even then be left tell-tale signs, provided one had sufficient knowledge of the oral tradition concerned to detect them.

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Compression and Digression in Gaelic Hero-Tales

The later mediaeval romances written in the Gaelic tongue then shared by educated people in Ireland and the West of Scotland are clearly literary works in style and content: but like other mediaeval romances they were generally designed to be read aloud, whether in a prince's hall or a lady's chamber. They therefore tend to be made up of a string of exciting but more or less self-contained episodes, so that it was easy to break off one night and take up the story the next: these episodes were loosely united by some sort of quest theme, similar to that of many of the longer European international folktales. Like märchen, the romances have a limited cast of characters, and most of their conventions tend to ensure that the story is carried on rapidly with the minimum of unnecessary details intruding upon the plot. They also use motifs which are apparently borrowed from native or international oral tradition, and one whole romance is based on the central episode of AT 301.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of these romances have been handed down as folktales. In many cases not only the basic plot but the names of the heroes and other characters remain recognisably the same. It is not difficult to see how these literary works became folktales: they were still being read aloud to audiences of all social classes in parts of every Gaelic-speaking province at least until the early eighteenth century, and in the south-west of Ireland well into the nineteenth. As might be expected, the romances which reappear as folktales are generally those with the most interesting plots, though there are a few cases of stories which actually seem to have been learned because of their great length or obscurity of language.

These stories give us a rare opportunity to compare quite popular folktales - a dozen of them can be found in ten, thirty or sixty versions collected over the past hundred years in Ireland and Scotland - with known written archetypes, and to deduce how oral transmission has altered these literary works. In the past, too many theories about the folktale have involved the reconstruction of a hypothetical archetype, which is then compared with the actual collected versions. In this case we have hundreds of manuscripts from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century (differing from one another, admittedly, in wording and minor details, but seldom in basic plot content) with which to compare oral versions collected from 50 to 500 years later. (Incidentally, there are hardly any cases of stories which have definitely survived in oral form for longer than 500 years, and in most cases their lifetime is probably less than 250 years.)

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Some results of the comparison could fairly easily be predicted. The long and diffuse romances tend to be shortened until, as a rule, only five or six episodes out of an original ten or twelve survive in the folktale. The episodes which disappear most readily are those which have neither a close connection with the main theme of the plot, nor any features striking enough to appeal to the hearer's imagination. For instance, the main theme of the romance of Conall Gulban is the abduction of the hero's wife by the giant son of the king of Syria. After various adventures the hero, Conall, defeats the Syrian prince and regains his wife. At this point in the romance the Syrian prince turns to Conall and says: "I have been to a lot of trouble to get myself a wife from Ireland: now that you have taken her back from me, I think you should help me to win another wife for myself!" Conall agrees, and another set of adventures follows. This is clearly just a device to make the story longer, and most of the folk versions leave it out: in fact they make it impossible by making Conall kill the Syrian prince, so that the story ends at the logical point with the recovery of the heroine. In the same tale another episode is generally omitted because it is too like the [illegible] *

The romances are full of purely conventional shifts of scene from France to Greece, or Norway to Egypt. Even in the literary originals the voyages from one of these countries to another are sometimes dismissed in a few words: if not they are described in a "run", a series of flowery alliterative phrases arranged according to a conventional pattern. These runs, which are also used to describe battles, festive gatherings and occasionally natural scenes such as sunrise, are further conventionalised by folk tellers: as a rule each storyteller only knows one run for each situation, which he repeats to describe a voyage or a battle whenever one occurs in any hero-tale. Less experienced tellers may simply omit the journey or reduce it to a short walk to the next house. In general, it appears that the storyteller has little interest in transitional passages, and probably remembers the story as a series of striking tableaux. [illegible] However, it may happen that a storyteller finds the logical link between these tableaux too small and invents a new one. Thus in one episodic romance the famous Cú Chulainn pursues a giant to rescue a maiden, and on the way has a battle with a king who tells him where to find the giant; rescues another princess from another giant; and disenchants a third princess who has been turned into a dragon. A folk

* hero's abduction of the heroine at the beginning of the story: two episodes which are similar but not the same are too difficult to remember separately.

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version creates a new link by making all three princesses sisters and the king their father. (In another unusually disjointed but very popular romance the hero starts out to look for a princess who has adjured him to release her from enchantment: he is presently distracted by an encounter with an old enemy of his father's, whom he kills in a pitched battle; in the battle his two brothers are killed, and the hero goes in search of a balsam which will bring them back to life: on the way he becomes involved in the affairs of two other enchanted warriors, and gets so distracted that the poor heroine not only has to disenchant herself in the middle of all this by dragging him into her bed, but even gets the balsam to resurrect his brothers herself. Storytellers from Kerry to Donegal have wisely simplified the plot by leaving out the heroine and making the whole story turn on the search for the balsam, which the hero is sent to fetch at the beginning of the story and finds at the end - virtually the plot of AT 551, but with names from the romance.)

Other changes may likewise increase the unity and clarity of the story. The Gaelic romances, like mediaeval writers in other languages, liked to introduce stories narrated by one of the characters in the main story, though in Gaelic these always had to concern the character's own experiences. Folk tellers tend to have difficulty in repeating these, and shift constantly between "I" and "he" for the narrator of the episode: so, more often than not, the whole episode is taken out of the mouth of the narrating character and told in the normal way in the third person, and what is more, at the point when it occurred in the general sequence of events. The romance of Diarmaid and Gráinne, for example, ends with the killing of Diarmaid by a wild boar: and just before Diarmaid encounters the boar, he is told by his enemy Fionn that the boar is really the spirit of a boy whom Fionn saw killed many years ago by Diarmaid's father. In four of the five folk versions which mention this, the storyteller begins by telling of this incident which happened when Diarmaid was a child, and then goes on to the rest of the story which happened when he was fully grown.

The story may also be simplified by, for instance, reducing battles between armies to single combats, or leaving out minor characters and, if necessary, assigning their actions to one of the leading actors. One naturally tends to

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speak in terms of the theatre here because the technique is almost exactly that used in adapting a novel for the stage, and the effect is indeed to make the story more dramatic. A romance which includes all the knights of King Arthur is none the worse in a folk version which cuts out all of them except Arthur himself and Sir Gawain, the hero: in any case the others had only walk-on parts. The folk teller does not, of course, turn everything into dialogue: but he will if possible use direct rather than indirect speech. Rather than saying "they all agreed" he will go through the characters one by one: "Yes", said Fergus, "Yes", said Boinne, "Yes", said Iollann, and so on. ~~It may even happen, despite the folk teller's love of repetition, that two episodes which are virtually the same in the Romance will be merged into one in the folk version to save time.~~

All the tendencies I have mentioned may work together to forge a rambling and sometimes boring romance into a compact, dramatic and memorable folktale, which preserves only the best parts of the original in a neat logical sequence with no superfluous details. The result can therefore be something very much like the presumed archetypes of an international folktale, or what Walter Anderson more accurately called the Idealform. Indeed, after reaching this stage, some of the better-known Gaelic romances have spread out again to form local sub-types or oecotypes. It seems worthy of notice that a folktale can attain something like an Idealform after a few centuries of oral transmission from an ill-constructed archetype, simply through the natural and largely unconscious processes ~~which~~ by which a storyteller only remembers what is easy or interesting to remember and forgets or replaces the rest.

But not all forces work in the direction of brevity and unity. The audiences of Gaelic storytellers up to the present century were heirs to a tradition of listening to stories, told without book or read aloud, which stretched back without a break to the Middle Ages and earlier, to the period when the storyteller was a trained professional artist, and they still demanded something like professional standards of storytelling. Of course they liked an exciting story, but as we have noticed already, they also admired a story that went on for a long time - perhaps an hour, perhaps several evenings - and betrayed its literary origins by the use of obscure and incomprehensible words. A few storytellers could fulfil the need by repeating romances almost in the words of the literary manuscripts. This happened in the South of Ireland, where quite recently

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the manuscripts were still being read aloud almost within living memory, but also in Scotland, where two centuries had elapsed since anyone could decipher the script they were written in: in 1951 the late Duncan MacDonald of South Uist was still telling a story with long passages of dialogue which were almost word for word the same as in the romance whose only surviving manuscript was written down in Argyll in 1690.

Less fortunate tellers had to supply the demand for length and obscure language by drawing on a common stock of traditional stories, motifs and phrases derived partly from native and partly from international sources. The obscure language was supplied by the descriptive passages, the "runs" already mentioned, of which every active storyteller knew a few and each had his own personal version. In folk versions the archaic diction of the romances was reorganised into sonorous rhythmic passages which might be bound together with rhyme as well as alliteration: they were recited rather fast and contained many words which might be pure nonsense, but still served to impress an illiterate audience.

The demand for longer stories could be met most simply by repeating an episode with a change of characters in good märchen style, and several of the more popular romances have by-forms in which the hero goes from giant to giant, defeating one only to find that the maiden - or whatever he is looking for - has just been carried off by another. More often, though, a new episode is brought in from another story. That Irish storytellers constantly do this with international folktales will be obvious to anyone who has looked at Seán Ó Súilleabháin and Reidar Christiansen's Types of the Irish Folktale. Episodes from international wonder-tales may be worked into native Gaelic hero-tales, or episodes from native romances into international tales, and Scottish Gaelic storytellers in particular excel in borrowing fictional motifs for use in the biographies of historical chiefs of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Most such compilations probably die with the compiler, but some are passed on and become locally popular types.

Some of the motifs borrowed in this way are stock ones which may freely be used in any hero-tale: fights with giants or dragons from international sources, details of the hero's marvellous youth which at least have international parallels, or motifs first found in the romances such as the abduction of a princess from a tower which can only be entered by a prodigious leap, or the hero's fight with savage mercenaries to whose quarters his enemies have directed him for a

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night's lodging. In cases like the last of these the motif has been altered and extended considerably since its first appearance in a sixteenth-century romance: a late romance from about 1800 already has the sequel where the hero, having killed all the mercenaries and got their hall for lodgings, proceeds to extort food and drink by equally violent means from a series of tradesmen. In a more burlesque vein, folk versions, instead of making the mercenaries bar the door to prevent the hero escaping from them, make them stop up the very chinks between the stones of the wall lest he should wriggle through them.

Motifs which are not stock ones may be brought in to account for an incomprehensible detail or a misunderstood word in the romance, or very often simply because the situations in the two stories are similar. Thus in the Conall Gulban story the situation before the heroine's abduction is similar to that before the dragon-fight in AT 300: the hero is asleep with his head in the heroine's lap by the shore of the sea, from which his enemy - here the giant - appears to carry her off. Consequently many oral versions of the romance at this point introduce a detail from the international tale: the heroine tries to waken the hero by cutting off one of his fingers or the like. She cannot succeed, because the story requires her to be abducted by the giant while the hero remains asleep, but the detail seems to belong to the scene and is introduced regardless.

It is clear that the techniques for extending a story are designed so as not to overburden the storyteller's memory. If he knows half a dozen international wonder-tales, half a dozen native romances, half a dozen extra stock motifs (which in any case probably can be found in one of these tales) and three or four runs to describe battles, voyages and feasts, he can split them up and re-combine them to make a hundred different stories. Unlike Hungarian storytellers, Gaelic tellers have never admitted to doing this deliberately, but there is little doubt that they do, or did. The longest of all Gaelic hero-tales was made by deliberately tacking on four different romances as sequels to another and changing the heroes' names throughout to make them fit. It was almost certainly done to please the great collector John Francis Campbell of Islay, because the storyteller knew that he had heard that the first romance used to be the longest of all Gaelic folktales and lasted for several nights: so he set out to make the short story he knew as long as possible by adding to it, very likely with the assistance of Campbell's own amanuensis.

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So much was done to please a folktale collector: but we need not doubt just
that many storytellers worked in the same way to please their neighbours.
To the practised Gaelic storyteller the telling of a folktale was a conscious
work of art, the interpretation of a traditional theme with all the resources of
a traditional skill, and at its best we can fairly call it great art.

=@=

The full study on which this is based appeared as Vol. 34 of the
Irish folklore periodical Béaloideas.

Alan Bruford
Edinburgh.

18: Mihai Pop*; in the background: Helga Stein**, Rolf W. Brednich***, Venetia Newall***†, A.J. Bruford (FL 1913/21/44393)

19: Kurt Ranke; in the background: H. Stein, R.W. Brednich, A.J. Bruford (FL 1913/23/44399)

* paper and photos in REF/JEF 1–2/2016: 197–213; 1–2/2017: 208; 1–2/2018: 318.
** photos in REF/JEF 1–2/2021: 223, 224.
*** text and photos in REF/JEF 1–2/2021: 261–285, 222, 223, 224.
***† as in pictures of REF/JEF 1–2/2016: 211, 1–2/2021: 224, 225, 293.

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FOLK NARRATIVE IN COTTON MATHER'S MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA

By 1670 the Puritan church in America was fighting to survive, for the younger generation was rebelling against its strictures. With other leaders, Cotton Mather -- a Puritan minister and statesman -- sought to lead the young people along right paths of worship and conduct, to save the church from destruction. The elders attributed their troubles to the Devil and his minions and as a result held the infamous witchcraft trials of the New World. By the end of the century the trials were over, but the troubles in the church were still active.

What these troubles were is clearly reflected in a voluminous work published by Cotton Mather in 1699 -- a work which still serves as a reference for historians -- the Magnalia Christi Americana [1] which depicts the lives of eminent Puritans with the obvious intention of setting examples for the erring. This paper is devoted to examining folk narrative imbedded in Mather's great work.

Because Cotton Mather was a Harvard graduate and an educated ordained minister, one would look in vain for Märchen in his work, but with great success for folk narrative of the exemplary kind. Notably, the folk narrative materials Cotton Mather uses are localized although they lack a direct personal touch. Mather dipped into his educated mind for references to legends with which his

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contemporaries were familiar, underscoring his own messages with examples drawn from the past. Only once, however, does he relate fully a tale encompassed by Thompson's Folktale Index, but the redaction of Type 759 is so complete as to suggest that the Reverend Mather in the quiet of his study turned to a book on his shelves for the story. The tale is an exemplum from the collection of Jacques de Vitry, in which a grumbling hermit is taken by an angel to visit four hosts, each of whom the angel then, to the hermit's thinking, harms deeply. The hermit learns humility as the angel explains that God's judgments must be accepted, for the cup the angle took from the first host saved the man from the sin of pride of possession. As for the second man to whom the cup was given, he was so sinful that the cup would probably be his only reward, for the man lacked piety. The angel then explained that the servant he had slain earlier had planned to murder his master. In the case of the fourth host whose infant the angel took to paradise (J 225.0.1), the man had become greedy when his wife finally bore him an heir.[2]

The story is typical of Mather's use of folk narrative, for it occurs at the beginning of a biography as do other stories throughout the work. Angels appear in such introductions, sometimes taking on the appearance of a man (K1811.4.2).[3]

Mather also refers to legends of blasphemy, both ancient and contemporary, in trying to lead his parishioners

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into the ways of righteousness. The destruction of Sodom (A194.2; Q221.3) is reflected in God's fury against Port Royal in Jamaica, destroyed by earthquake (F 969.4) because people there turned to fortune-tellers. Mather warns that the city of Boston may go down in destruction for the same sin (A 2231 ff; Q 220 ff).[4] He also writes of God's sending violent thunderstorms on ~~the~~ city for her lusts of uncleanness (D900).[5]

Thunder as the voice of God is as old as mythology and folklore, as is exemplified, for instance, in the voice of various sky dieties. Mather turns to this same idea, noting that a "profance persecutor" who was on a journey with his very holy wife was thoroughly frightened during a violent storm, but his wife remained calm, telling him that the thunder was the voice of her heavenly Father (A1142.1). The man, says Mather, was converted on the spot into a solid Puritan.[6] God's wrath in thunder and lightning is noted in a story about profaning the sabbath, for which cause many people have been struck by lightning (Q552.1).[7]

As history attests, the Puritans worked their way out of disastrous circumstances and they abhorred Idleness as a sin. Mather recites that he had read of a resident of Pisa being asked why the city was decaying and that the citizen stated the young were too prodigal, the old too affectionate, and that far too many spent their years in idleness (~~Q221.3~~ J 21.50 & Hence the town was destroyed (Q 221.3)).[8] Idleness also lead to wasting time in

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court and to idle talk, as was the case during a famed law suit over swine. Mather warns that towns have been destroyed by animals (F960) and people should avoid law suits over swine.

As they detested Idleness, so too did Puritans disdain the sin of pride. Mather cites the case of a professor who was a drunken sot (J 1321), a sin for which he was thrown out of the Puritan communion (Q436). As he lay dying, the man said that he had prayed often for mercy, but God refused his request. He became so angry with God that in his own pride he foreswore the church and God and became utterly forsaken in his pride. On his deathbed he urged others not to make his mistake (Q331).

To lead Puritans to the virtue of Humility, Mather cites a story about Diagoras, who was warned to die quickly, for great news about his sons was coming and it might make him so proud he would be kept out of heaven (Q331). This legend he follows up with a reference to a story in the Talmud about a woman who had a thousand pieces of gold in her dowry and yet was soon reduced to such poverty that she picked up "barleycorn of the cattel's dung for her food." Hence, says Mather, one's eyes should turn always to treasures in the world to come rather than in this.[11]

The call to Humility is reflected also in the story of a Persian king who lost the one he loved most in all the world. Noting his passionate mourning, a man offered to

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raise the dead relative to life, with one stipulation: that the king should furnish him but the names of

As examples of humility, Mather refers to King Agathocles, the son of a potter who always ate from pottery dishes; Archbishop Willibid, son of a wheelmaker, who kept wheels above his bed chamber inscribed in Latin, "Remember thy original." (J 913; J910), and New England's own Sir William Phipps, son of a ship carpenter who never allowed pride to overhwelm him.[12]

Judging by the number of times Mather takes false accusations to task, he must have recalled repently what occurred during the witchcraft trials. Mather recounts the story of how people found a skull at which all but one person wept, that one not only laughed, but threw stones at the skull. The stones wonderfully flew back at him, striking him in the face (Q582.7), thus punishing the man's cruelty (Q285). So, says Mather, shall be punished all inhumane Christians who deal in slander (Q298).[13] Perhaps Mather is indulging in wishful thinking as he recites the legend of a tree in Egypt which took vengeance upon false accusers. The tree had "iron branches with sharp hooks at the end of them that when any false accuser (K2100, K2199; F810) approached, as the fable says, immediately flew at him, and stuck in him, until he had ceased injuring his adversaries."[14]

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Divine punishment against hate, anger, envy and the disdaining of Christianity come in for attack also. For instance an Englishman who hated the famous Puritan John Eliot, a missionary who Christianized Indians, heard that Eliot had been saved from drowning by God himself. The man at once said he wished Eliot had drowned. In a few days the evil man drowned at the exact spot where Eliot had been saved (Q151.5; Q301; Q552.19.2).[15] Mather also cites that when an envious man tried to pull down a statue raised to his rival, whom he had falsely maligned, the statue fell and knocked out the detractor's brains (Q550; Q275).[16] Mather tells too of an Indian chief who so disdained Christianity that he pulled a button from a minister's coat, saying he cared as much for God as for the button. The Indian had a dream that he would fall into English hands. This did occur and as the chief was trying to escape, another Indian shot him through the heart (A194.2; D1812.3.3); Q221.3).[17]

Puritans believed in death premonitions (D1812.3.3.). Mather said that Seutonius "hardly lets one of his twelve Caesars die without them," and asserts that in his own experience, a physician who stayed for three nights in Mather's home dreamed three times of his drowning. On the third night the man was so disturbed that he left his bed to tell Mather's family about his dreams (E413). There is,

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however, no indication that the physician later drowned. Mather also believed in apparitions of persons who had died at sea or abroad, being seen within a day or so after their deaths by their friends at home (A1; A2; C1c; C3; E231.1). He then recites a ghost tale famous in American annals: on May 2, 1687, Joseph Beacon of Boston awoke at five and saw his brother, whom he knew to be in London, standing before him in a dressing gown, a bandage about his head, The frightened Bostonian asked what was the matter and the ghost said he had been murdered by someone he had never wronged and that the murderer was journeying to New England. The ghost asked his brother to watch for the murderer. In late June word came that the London brother had been murdered. Later the murderer was brought to justice in Boston.[18]

Just as God punished sinners, so He could be counted upon to help the saintly and to answer ernest prayers. A saintly Puritan who did not drink whiskey was saved from having to drink the king's health both in Denmark and in England. Both times the king fell into a fit, a fact which kept the Puritan from breaking his own integrity (Q29; Q20).[19] The case of a certain Mr. Shape attests to the answering of prayers, for when Mr. Snape was cast into prison, penniless, he prayed for help. One day as he was on his kness he saw something thrown

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into his chamber. He was determined to finish his prayers (H605) before checking the object. When he did, he found it was a purse filled with gold (Q33), which he used to procure better treatment from his cruel jailer.[20] In a second instance of prayers being answered, Mather relates how swarms of caterpillars devoured whole fields "except those belonging to a praying husbandman who poured out fervent prayers for help, whereupon huge flocks of birds devoured the devourers." Others had been terribly ill (F1041.9) or so terribly tempted as to be distracted (G303.9.2). In still other instances, droughts or floods threatened to ruin the crops (Q150.1), yet in all cases prayers brought the help of God to those needing it.[21]

Remarkable rescues from death form a large section of one chapter, always for those who prayed well. Some who fell and were about to be run over by carts or ploughs were suddenly saved when the beasts of burden stopped in their tracks. As Mather states, "even ejaculatory prayers have had astonishing answers." For instance, a carpenter who dropped a piece of lumber just over playing children cried out in agony, "Oh Lord, direct it!" The board fell on end among the children and miraculously slid along the floor between two of them, not harming one (V52; F950; Q20). Mather also cites a truly miraculous tale about a woman who finally died of dropsie, having for a long time had no evacuation except by vomiting huge quantities. After death, she was dissected. She had

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no bowels -- only a very small heart and her spleen, "one end whereof stuck to her back and the other to her ribs," and also a minor portion of her liver or lungs. Despite this, reports Mather, she retained her senses and lived a long time (Q20; F960).[22]

° Prayer helped avert disasters at sea. In one case, the voyage took so long that the passengers were starving, having had no food for five weeks. They prayed aloud and God heard them. He sent dolphins. The animals swam close enough so that the Puritans caught and ate one per day -- except on Saturdays when, like Sabbath observers that they were -- they caught two, one of which they saved so that they would not have to labor to get their Sunday supper. This miraculous providence continued until they came to a change in water so that the dolphins had to leave. Before they left, however, many abandoned their lives so that the Puritans had twenty-seven dolphins stored away to be their food supply (D1766.1; F960; V52).[23]

Mather twice tells the story of a weak woman who yielded to a man and bore his child. She vowed she would not repeat her sin, but nevertheless did so. She murdered the child, telling people that it had been born dead and she had burned it. Its body was found in a chest. At her trial, when she touched the infant's face, as the judges required her to do, the blood came fresh into it (D1318.5.2), a clear indication of her

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guilt. Like the good Puritan he is, Mather moralizes on the dangers of God's vengeance if one lies and murders.[24]

The motif of a corpse bleeding in the presence of a murderer also occurs in the case of an Indian murdered by a fellow red man called Tobias, who was a counsellor to the Indian chief King Phillip in the French and Indian wars that wracked the colonies. When Tobias approahced the body of Indian John, which he had stuffed through a hole in the ice of a small pond, John's body began to bleed (D1318.5.2). Tobias then confessed his guilt.[25]

The guilt of some Englishmen who supplied whiskey to the Indians came to light in a similar way. Eight Indians became so drunk that they drowned while corssing a stream in their small boat. This happened in December. In March, one body drifted ashore at the exact spot where the English had made them drunk (F960).[26]

Puritan law required execution for adultery, theft, and for cohabiting with animals or bestiality. Mather relates how an otherwise revered and holy man finally had his sins brought to light. For fifty years he had practiced bestiality. His daughter dreamed of his execution years before it occurred (D1812.3.3) and tried to warn her father against continuing his sinful ways. When he was finally executed, the animals with which he had consorted were also killed (Q253.1), among them a sow with which his son reported the father talked.[27] It is worth noting here that a sow or pig may be a devil's familiar.

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Mather's second story of bestiality is brief: a beast was born, having a blemish on one eye much like that of a man known to be a great sinner (T550.5). The man confessed and was executed.[28]

Nowhere in his Magnalia Christi Americana is Cotton Mather more distressed that he is with a woman of considerable influence who bears many heretical opinions. She had a very large following. But she met with her downfall: at a single birth, she bore no fewer than thirty monsters, one for each of her heresies, according to Mather, and none in any recognizable human shape (G269.11). Apparently her family had a tendency to give birth to monsters, for a near relative, "infected with her heresies, was delivered in 1637 of a hidious monster herself (G269.11), it having a face below upon its breast (F511.0.1.1) and the ears were like an ape's, and grew upon the shoulders (F511.2). Furthermore this monster had no head and along with its other deformities it had talons like a fowl's (F517.1.4) and above its eyes had four horns (F511.3)." Mather adds somewhat anticlimatically that there was a strong suspicion that this midwife was a witch (G269.11).[29]

One of the most interesting sections in Mather's great work is that dealing with the witchcraft tribulations and trials in New England. Mather attributes the entire unhappy

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agony of those times to the "prodigious war made by the spirits of the invisible world upon the people of New-England, in the year 1692." Much of this, he says, was aroused by Indian sagamores or medicine men, sorcerers who conversed with demons (E334.5; E155.1.2).[30] The world of spirits was a reality to Mather and his contemporaries. He relates a story, for instance, about a "toumb house" where two men sometimes rested. There, promptly at two each morning, they heard a great bell tolling (E533; 7070 ff.)[31] To stop this sound some Christians gathered in prayer (E443.2), after which the bells never sounded again.[32]

In the annals of American folklore it is said that along with the forerunners of American aristocracy, witches arrived in the New World aboard the Mayflower. However that may be, as early as 1632 Thomas Shepard moved into a house said to be haunted by the Devil (E280). The house was known to have been occupied at one time by a noted witch (G269.5) and consequently was troubled by many strange noises (J1782.3; K1887.2). Mr. Shepard prayed earnestly (E443.2) and the Devil had no choice but to depart.[33]

In his lengthiest story, Mather discusses a tale of witchcraft. Four children, the eldest a girl of thirteen, asked an Irish woman about some missing linen (G269.10). In resentment, the woman caused trouble. The girl and her

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brothers and sisters thereafter ran into many troubles, and always identically. Sometimes they had shooting pains. Sometimes they all became simultaneously deaf and sometimes dumb (G263.4.4) or blind ((G263.4.5). Again they might fall into fits (G263.4.2) or endured other torments. Sometimes their heads lolled as though their necks were broken or they acted as though their bones had dissolved. To combat this the ministers of Boston fasted and prayed in their home for one full day, during which time the children were free of troubles. When the Irish woman was accused, she answered only in Gaelic and denied her guilt. However, several poppets stuffed with goats' hair and rags were found in her home. When Cotton Mather questioned her, she admitted attending conventicles where her prince, the Devil, was present (G303.6.2.2). When she attempted to recite the Lord's prayer in Latin, she was unable to utter one phrase, which Mather says probaly contained a direct reference to God. Another person accused the Irish woman, saying that her own child had reported seeing a "black person with a blue cap" in his room and that the thing had tortured him and given him fits. The Irish woman boasted that of course she was responsible. When she was executed (G291), she said her death would not relieve the children. Indeed, they remained bewitched, barking and purring (G269.21.2), and one of them

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dreamed that he had something growing across one of his ribs under his skin (G269.17). The children flew through the air like geese at an incredible speed with their toes only occasionally touching the ground. When they were ordered to do something, they did exactly the opposite (G265.8.2). Mather says he took one of these children into his own home and that she seemed well for several days. At last she fell into fits, crying out, "Ah, they have found me out!" Mather reports that she could read books by the Quakers, whom Mather both feared and detested, but that she could not utter the name of God. The girl was finally cured by the minister's praying three times in three days (G271.2).[34]

Witchcraft victimized many New England children. In another case a physician said that he thought some children were under an evil hand (D996; 0.2.1), and learned by confession that an Indian and his wife had used the bewitched persons' urine, baking it into a cake (G259). The afflicted child kept calling out the name of an Indian woman, Tituba, saying that she was tormenting him and that he could see her. No one else present saw her, however. The children in the house complained of pins being stuck into them (G269.17). In her confession, Titiba said she had learned to make the witch cake in her own country where her former mistress had been a witch, but that she herself was not really a witch. Three fasts (G243)

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at the minister's house, with other ministers present, and a public fast in the village were held to combat this witchcraft[35] (G271.2).

Mather notes that the devil can take on many forms and that when Saul called on the Witch of Endor to consult with some spirit from the invisible world, he asked the spirit to appear as Samuel. Mather adds that dispute continued among theologians whether the true Samuel appeared, saying that spirits can change "themselves into multifarious forms."[36]

Devil lore, says Mather, broke out in New England in the town of Salem, spreading rapidly into other villages. As a result many persons were arrested, underwent trial, and in some instances were executed. He says that some people were so tormented that they actually ~~says~~ saw a small, tawny devil with other spirits in attendance. With these helpers, the devil forced people to sign a contract in a book (G303.6.1.2.1). Some simply touched the book as a token of their joining the devil's legions, for if they refused to do so, the specters commanded by the blackman (G303.2.2) would torture the victim horribly so that he would fall into convulsions or be pinched black and blue or have pins run into his flesh or show blisters where he had been scalded. In the presence of witnesses, such victims would suddenly have their hands tied together with a rope which would just as suddenly disappear. Others

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would have a specter run at them with a spindle, although no one else in the room could see either the specter or the spindle (E421.1.1). Another victim was haunted by an abusive spirit which showed up with a sheet around it, but this sheet was unseen except by the victim herself (E421.1.1). The victim snatched violently at the sheet and actually tore a corner from it which became visible to all those present.[37]

From witchcraft, Mather proceeds to discuss the presence of poltergeists, citing several instances. In one, a woman heard voices. Three hours later a stone struck her. Stones flew along the house (F473.1) and a frying pan rang as though struck with something (F473.2). Later when the woman was in a canoe with her husband, both saw the head of a man and the tail of a cat swimming in the water alongside. At home again, the woman suddenly showed teeth marks (F473.3) like those of a man. The two went to a neighbor's house for safety. When they returned home, the husband saw the floor board bend.[38]

A second poltergiest not only threw stones, but whistled. In this case the victims also heard a horse snort and heard the sound of his trotting (F473.5). While they were in a boat, the anchor suddenly leaped overboard (F473.2). In their fields the hay cocks scattered without any visible cause (F473.2). In this instance the man was a Quaker (an anathema to any good Puritan) and he suspected the cause was a

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woman who had unjustly accused him of taking some of her land.[39]

A third poltergiest also threw objects against a house, and in addition cast things at the man's shop and his barn (473.1), but no violence occurred except to the victim himself. He had been accused ot taking a chest of clothes, and when this chest was returned to its rightful owner, the troubles stopped. The victim also had a fire of undetermined origin; it destroyed part of his estate (E473.2.4). To substantiate such occurrences, Mather recites an incident which happened in Sussex in England, in 1659.[40]

In still another poltergeist tale, the usual objects are thrown. In addition a staff danced up and down the chimney and an iron crook was hurled across the room by unseen hands. To make matters worse, a chair landed on the dinner which the people were about to consume (F473.2). The entire family was attacked. Their son was ßß thoroughly tormented (F473.2) . They heard a voice crying out, "Revenge!" The family prayed (E443.2) and the poltergeist distrubed them no more.[41]

To end on a more cheerful note, and a more successful one as far as the Puritans were concerned, Cotton Mather asserts that certain among the Puritans were especially blessed, having been selected by God to be his agents. For instance, a father who neglected his prayers except on the Sabbath had one son who was a very holy child. This child was taken seriously

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ill. His mother and his brothers and sisters prayed every day for his recovery, with the ill child asking them to do so. But he never requested his father to join in the prayers. On Sundays the child would say, "This is the day on which my father uses to go to prayer." On one Sunday, the child died. The father was so struck by what the son said, that he turned into a godly man[42] (J577.1.1).

From the foregoing, it can be seen that Cotton Mather in the New World used materials known in the Old in a folk-belief context. His stories are not only those of an educated man calling into play references to recognizable legends, but also tales which he localizes by using names of New World colonists in stories containing universal motifs. Their function was educational. Notably, though some tales are localized, they remain impersonal and impossible of identification as actual incidents. Cotton Mather as a Puritan minister used the means at hand to lead his parishoners into godly ways by re-asserting Puritan standards as imbedded in legends. That he turned to exempla, only one of which is identifiable as a complete folk tale type, is only to be expected.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Cotton Mather,"Magnalia Christi Americana: The New English History, Wherein Very Many Illustrious Discoveries and Demonstrations of the Divine Providence in Remarkable Mercies and Judgments Many Particular Persons among the People of New-England Are Observed, Collected, and Related." London, 1702.

Motif Numbers in parentheses as hereinafter noted are from Stith Thompson, Motif Index.

2. MCA, I, 189-190. (MCA = Magnalia Christi Americana)

3. MCA, I, 95.

4. MCA, I, 99; MCA II, 99, 391, 509.

5. MCA, II, 371.

6. MCA, II, 367.

7. MCA, II, 395.

8. MCA, I, 102.

9. MCA, I, 125.

10. MCA, II, 403.

11. MCA, II, 666.

12. MCA, I, 221.

13. MCA, I, 228.

14. MCA, I, 225.

15. MCA, I, 543.

16. MCA, I, 230.

17. MCA, I, 390.

18. MCA, II, 468-469.

19. MCA, I, 151.

20. MCA, I, 247.

21. MCA, II, 355.

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22. MCA, II, 355.

23. MCA, II, 354.

24. MCA, II, 398, 404-405.

25. MCA, II, 560.

26. MCA, II, 402.

27. MCA, II, 405.

28. MCA, II, 401.

29. MCA, II, 519.

30. MCA, II, 620.

31. MCA, I, 382. The second number is derived from Th. Christiansen, *The Migratory Legends: A Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants*.

32. Loc. cit.

33. MCA, I, 383.

34. MCA, II, 456-465.

35. MCA, I, 501.

36. Loc. cit.

37. MCA, I, 206.

38. MCA, II, 453.

39. Loc. cit.

40. MCA, II, 452.

41. MCA, II, 450.

42. MCA, II, 373.

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MYTHS AND REALITY IN "ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF LONELINESS" AND IN SANTIAGO DE CAO (PERU)

In this book, published by the Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez, the story of an extensive family in the tropical and imaginary town of Macondo is briefly told, with the problems of the new times, the immense shock of the modernization process, and the usefulness of so-called progress. The story happens now, it is briefly the tale of our century, and the book, even becoming a best seller, and it has been discussed very much among intellectual circles of Latin America.

It is possible to find in this book many of the South American beliefs of today, beliefs that are denied by the national establishments, but are felt by the people. We attempt to analyze some of the aspects of this book in the light of the myths, folktales and feelings of Santiago de Cao (Peru). Let us suppose that we start to discuss the book's contents with one of the ancients of this village.

(1) The visions and dreams of the founding fathers of both towns, illo tempore, told of an ancient Spanish galleon in the swamps of Macondo. In Santiago de Cao a narrative tells about a golden cart that disappeared into the Pacific Ocean, taking the direction of an island far from the coast. Did these things really once exist? Did somebody see them? That is out of question, because everybody is sure about this "fact",

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and even a child knows the details of these myths, and that means that we have good "documents".

(2) In 1900 the meaning of progress in all South America was unbelievable. Everybody believed in the coming happiness for all mankind and in Macondo the gipsies brought a great piece of ice. After touching it the children ask themselves if it were possible, but 69 years later the "underdeveloped" yeo-men of a tropical country know that this progress means luxury, and the ice is found only in the richest houses of both towns. This is the reason why tropical countries still remain like Europe before central heating. The story shows that this "developing" was only good business for middlemen, the same as the importation of goods that soon became useless and waste material. But, we have paid for all these exotic things, to the last penny.

(3) The plantation system arrived in both towns: to Macondo banana, and to Santiago de Cao sugar cane. And in both places it was brought by the Anglo-Americans, who came like "the thieves in the night", and with their own philosophy. Everybody remembers the pioneers, the kindly and clever "gringos" that mixed ~~themselves~~ with the town society. Then they started to increase their lands in accordance with the law, and in a few years there was no more place for our crops. A new and strange body has changed the landscape, building canals, leveling the hills, and building a town of foreigners. At one corner of this slum area they developed a small anglo-

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american ghetto, with plenty of gardens and nice bungalows. This was the only clean spot. During the ~~life~~ period of the plantations there were strikes, and the native army killed the native workers because the central Government wanted peace and foreign currency.

But one day it started to rain, and it rained incessantly four years, eleven months and two days. The bananos were destroyed, nature recovered its kingdom, and gringos and national army went home. Some day also, nature is going to recover its place in Peru.

(4) Which is the Macondo's view of good life? We can learn it from one of the most prosperous members of the extensive family, who organized meetings, parties and dances every day at home. They were really good times; people used to talk, to drink, to dance and amuse themselves. Simultaneously, the family herd increased by itself in the bush, because the accurately work seems to be only the devil's creation. More creative for people in both towns, is an eternal dialogue that allows a good life. Today we are told that this old fashioned way of life is lazy and not productive, but we envy these dionisiac days of our grandfathers. And we are sure that the new ways are just as useless as it was to work hard for the plantation owners in a distant and unknown country. Work should be only a means in itself, not an end in human life.

The climax of the good life in Macondo happens when the neighboring town challenged the fat people to an eating contest. The

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pater familias was sure to win and so he invited a fat woman for the competition. Of course, they were surrounded by visitors of the other town and people of Macondo who watched this big and quiet woman eating slowly and incessantly. She never stopped, but the Macondo Gambrinus had to stop after twenty hours, defeated and his life in danger. She still continued, and finished the whole calf that she was eating.

(5) One day, Aureliano Buendía, the most important person of the story, starts a war against oppression and poverty, typified by his father-in-law, chief of the conservative party. He was defeated several times, (thirty-two times) 32, and every time he started again and again, and he was always alive. People still say that if he had started the ~~32 war~~ (thirty-third time) he would win the war.

But the colonel discovered during his battling, making long trips across mountains and swamps, and ~~with~~ (shedding) human blood, that he was just struggling for nothing, because he was always defeated in the very last moment by the lawyers of the capital, who followed him like dark butterflies. They knew how to discuss night after night, even the liberal lawyers of his own political party. In conclusion ~~it~~ there was no change, only new laws, in the distant capital. And so he went back home hopeless, and finished his life as an artisan, making small gold fishes.

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But people in both towns, and perhaps in all the little towns of South America, are still waiting for the end of their "loneliness" and the coming "good day" (that means Buendía).

Warszawa, Poland

April, 1969

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Neugriechische Volkserzählungen über den Betrug von Feinden durch eine List und ihre Beziehung zu alten Mythen.

Bis zum heutigen Tage gibt es im griechischen Volk viele Volkssagen, die als Thema den Betrug am Feinde durch eine List haben. Diese Erzählungen haben manchmal eine lange Tradition, wenigstens findet man Sagen solchen Inhalts bei den antiken Autoren **(1)**.

Hier wird eine parallele Untersuchung von lediglich drei Typen moderner und antiker Erzählungen zur Bestimmung der Ähnlichkeiten, Analogien und ihres Verhältnisses im allgemeinen versucht.

Gemäß dem ersten Typ der neugriechischen Volkssagen gelingt die Überlistung durch umgekehrten Hufschlag von Pferden oder auch durch umgekehrtes Tragen von Schuhen. Denn so zeigen die auf dem Boden zurückgelassenen Spuren eine entgegensetzte Richtung als diejenige, welche der Betrügende tatsächlich eingeschlagen hat. Kurz gesagt:

1) Eine Frau rät Türken oder Bulgaren, die eine Festung oder ein Kloster belagern, den umgekehrten Hufschlag. Diese führen es aus, betrügen die belagerten Griechen und erreichen ihr Ziel **(2)**.

2) Im Gegensatz hierzu verlassen Mönche durch diese gleiche List ohne Gefahr ihr von Türken belagertes Kloster **(3)**, auf diese Weise aber werden auch andere Belagerte gerettet **(4)** oder ganz allgemein Menschen, die sich in Gefahr befinden **(5)**.

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1) Die meisten dieser Erzählungen älterer Autoren findet man in den Werken von Polyainos und Frontinus.

2) Κέντρον Λαογραφίας Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, (Nr. (nachstehend: ΚΛ 156, S. 15 (Almali-Malgara-Makedonien, 1890), ΚΛ, Nr. 2394, SS. 224-225 (Promachoi-Pella-Makedonien, 1961).

3) ΚΛ, Nr. 3212, S. 33 (Pyli-Thessalien, 1967)

4) Σπαρτιατικὰ Χρονικά Α' (1937-38), Nr. 6, S. 7.

5) ΚΛ, Nr. 3333, S. (Kleisoteia-Boion-Makedonien, 19)

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3) Es gelingt einem Königssohn, die in einer Burg eingeschlossene Geliebte gegen den Willen des Vaters und trotz der Sicherheitsvorkehrungen zu besuchen, indem er ein Pferd mit umgekehrtem Hufbeschlag reitet (1).

4) Eine alte Frau verläßt eine Festung, indem sie ihre Schuhe umgekehrt anzieht, um der Verfolgung zu entfliehen (2).

Das ausgeschnittene Thema ist, soviel ich weiß, sehr verbreitet bei den Deutschen, und zwar bei Erzählungen mit Räubern als Hauptpersonen. Sie wenden diese List an, um den Raub unerkannt auszuführen(3). Jedoch ist das Thema nicht unbekannt bei anderen europäischen und außereuropäischen Völkern (4).

Dieses Motiv, den Feind durch Verwirrung der Spuren zu betrügen, finde ich in dem in der Spätantike sehr bekannten Mythos von Cacus und Herakles. Nach dem Raub der Rinder des Geryones wollte Herakles bei seiner Rückkehr nach Argos durch Italien [redacted] an den Ufern des Tiber ausruhen. Müde von der langen Reise schlief er ein und ließ die Rinder frei auf der Wiese weiden. Aber ein Räuber aus der Gegend, genannt Cacus, benutzte die Gelegenheit, stahl einige Rinder und zog sie am Schwanz, d.h. von hinten, [redacted] in seine Höhle. Als Herakles den Raub bemerkte und die Rinder suchte, konnte er sie [redacted] nicht finden, obschon er in die Nähe des Höhleneingangs kam, weil er von den Spuren getäuscht wurde, die von der Höhle wegführten.

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1) KA, Nr. 2340, SS. 57-58 (Kea, 1960).

2) L. Heuzey, Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie, Paris 1860, S. 359. Vgl. Bernhard Schmidt, Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder, Leipzig 1877, S. 32.

3) Siehe: Heinrich Pröhle- Will-Erich Peukert, Harzsagen,1957, S. 158, Nr. 139, S.162, Nr.141, Will-Erich Peukert, Bremer Sagen, 1961, S.68, Nr. 104, Will-Erich Peukert, Deutsche Sagen, II, Mittel-und Oberdeutscland, Berlin 1962, S.224, Nr. 403, S.281, Nr. 513, S.282, Nr. 515, S.283, Nr. 516, Will-Erich Peukert, Westalpensagen, Berlin 1965, S.178, Nr. 334.

4) Stith Thompson, Motif- Index of Folk Literature, Kopenhagen 1957, K 534.1. Vgl. auch ebd. K 534.2, K 534.3 und K 412. Siehe noch F.G. Welcker, Griechische Götterlehre 1, Göttingen 1857 S.340, O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte 2, München 1906, S. 1327, Not. 2.

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Martialis (7)

Das Motiv wird erwähnt bei: Virgilius (1), Livius (2), Propertius (3), Dionysios aus Halikarnassos (4), Ovidius (5), Aurelius Victor (6), u.a. Ausführlich stellt das Geschehen auch der byzantinische Johannes Tzetzes dar (8).

Hierzu muß man sagen, daß der Mythos sich im allgemein mit Variationen bei den Autoren findet, aber alle stimmen überein in der Art und Weise des Raubes, daß Cacus nämlich die Rinder von hinten bis zu seiner Höhle zog, um Herakles durch die Umkehrung der Spuren zu täuschen. So nach Virgilius (ich erwähne nur einige der Autoren):

Atque hos, ne qua foret pedibus vestigia recti,
Cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum
indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco; (VIII, 209-211)

nach Livius: aversos boves ... caudis in speluncam traxit; (I, VII, 3)
nach Propertius: aversos cauda traxit in antra boves; (4, 9, 11)
und nach Aurelius: aversas in speluncam attraxit (9). (6, 3)

Aber dieses während des griechisch-römischen Altertums so bekannte Motiv hat eine noch viel ältere Vorlage, aus der es entstanden ist. In dem homerischen Hymnos an Hermes (Zeile 76-78) wird dem Gott eine ähnliche List bei seinem Raub der 50 Rinder des Gottes Apollon zugeschrieben, eine seiner ersten Taten (10). Hermes führte -so der Hymnos- die geraubten Rinder:

ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης
ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὄπισθεν,
τὰς δ' ὄπισθεν πρόσθεν, κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτός ἔβαινε.

Wenn nun in dem Mythos über Cacus die Hinterlist einfach und klar ist, ist dies nicht so bei dem homerischen Hymnos. Deswegen bereiteten die betreffenden Zeilen in ihrem Verständnis den modernen Philologen Schwierigkeiten.

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1) Virg., Aen. VIII, 190 ff.
2) Liv. I, VII, 3 ff.
3) Prop. 4,9, 1 ff.
4) Dion. Hal. 1,39.
5) Ovid. Fasti 1, 543 ff.
6) Aur. Vict. 6,2-3.
8) Jo. Tzetz. V,21, 100-109.
9) Vgl. auch Friedrich Münzer, Cacus der Rinderdieb, Basel 1911, S. 29f.
7) M. Val. Martialis, Epigrammata V, 65, 4 ff.

10) Die Fabel wird später variiert. Siehe z.B. Anton. Liberalis XXIII. Vgl. weiter O. Gruppe, [illegible] Mythologie [illegible] 2, München, 1906, S. 1521. [illegible] a. a. O.

Vgl. noch: W.H. Roscher, Ausführl. Lex. der griech. u. röm. Mythologie 1,2, Sp. 2270 ff., L. Preller-H. Jordan, Römische Mythologie³ 2, Berlin 1883, S. 28 ff.; L. Preller-Carl Robert, Griechische Mythologie⁴ 2,2, Berlin 1921, S. 474, u. Wissowa Art. Cacus bei P.W., RE. 3,1, Stuttgart 1897, Sp. 1165-1169.

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Einige von ihnen fanden darin Widersprüche, aufgrund deren sie ein[illegible] Zeilen späteren Interpolatoren zugeschrieben haben.

Die ersten beiden Wörter aus dem oben erwähnten Zitat ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας lauten, daß Hermes die Rinder rückwärts zu gehen zwang (1). Die beiden letzten Zeilen können nach Welcker bedeuten, daß Hermes " die Vorderklauen hinten und die hinteren vornhin setzt„(2). Ein anderer Philologe, um noch einen weiteren zu erwähnen, glaubt, daß zweifelsohne der Vorgang so ist: " Hermes geht selbst vorwärts...führt aber die Rinder rückwärts und zwar kreuz und quer„(3).

Das gleiche Motiv findet sich auch bei dem satyrischen Drama von Sophokles Ἰχνευταί, welches von dem Dichter nach dem Hymnos geschaffen wurde (4). Auch dieses Zitat birgt Probleme in sich, soweit es seine Abhängigkeit vom homerischen Hymnos angeht. Ich gebe hier die Meinung Karl Roberts an:" Am Ziele angelangt wendet der Götterjunge eine dreifache List an. Einen Teil der Herde läßt er rückwärts gehen... Einem zweiten Teil kehrt er die Vorderhufe nach ihnen...einem dritten Teil die Hinterhufe nach außen. Also eine mächtige Steigerung„(5).

Jedenfalls steht es außer Zweifel, daß sowohl bei dem homerischen Hymnos als auch bei den Ἰχνευταί die Rinder so geführt werden, daß die von ihnen auf dem Boden zurückgelassenen Spuren eine andere Richtung zeigen, verschieden von der, in der sie tatsächlich getrieben wurden.

Außer den Listen, die Hermes und Caeus von den Alten zugeschrieben werden, (auch der Byzantiner Johannes Tzetzes erwähnt die List des Caeus- wie wir gesehen haben-) soll ein gewisser General Onias eine ganz ähnliche List-wie sie in heutigen Sagen erscheint, erfunden haben. Sie wird dargestellt in einer der vier späteren Bearbeitungen der ὑποθέσεις στρατηγικῶν πράξεων, die Ausschnitte aus dem Werk des Polyaenos über Kriegslisten sind (6). Der Text sagt kurz:

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1) Siehe Carl Robert, Aphoristische Bemerkungen zu Sophokles Ἰχνευταί, Hermes 47 (Berlin 1912), S. 546.
2) F. G. Welcker, a.a.O. Vgl. Carl Robert, a.a.O.
3) Siehe: Die homerischen Hymnen, herg. und erläutert von Albert Gemoll, Leipzig 1886, S. 205. Vgl. auch: The homeric hymns, ed. T.W.Allen, W.R.Halliday und E.E.Sikes, Oxford 1936, S.292.
4) Siehe Sophokles (bei Budé) II, 1924, S. 238, Z. 111-117.
5) A.a.O.
6) Siehe bei [illegible] P.W. R.E. [illegible] 21,2, 1952, Sp. [illegible] 1434-1436.

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Es wäre an dieser Stelle noch darauf hinzuweisen, daß das Motiv, Verfolger durch die Spuren zu täuschen, wahrscheinlich auch in der Mithras-Legende zu finden ist (1a)

c) "Ονίας φεύγειν διανοηθείς καί τήν ἐπιδίωξιν εὐλαβούμενος ταῖς τῶν ἵππων ὁπλαῖς ἀνεσταυρώσας τά σώληνα τῶν πετάλων περιέθηκε καί οὕτω φυγήν ἀκίνδυνον ἐποιήσατο„(1).

Zwei neugriechische Erzählungen, die im vorigen Jahrhundert veröffentlicht worden sind, erwähnen die Eroberung von Städten durch die Türken, indem diese die Griechen, die ihre Städte verteidigten, wie folgt überlisteten:

Die erste Erzählung aus Nikomedia in Kleinasien beschreibt, daß die Türken die erwähnte Stadt nur dadurch erobern konnten, daß sie in einer dunklen Nacht viele Schafe und Ziegen zusammenholten, ihnen angezündete Kerzen auf die Hörner setzten und sie zur Stadt hintrieben, während sie selbst sich versteckten. Die Christen, die glaubten, die Tiere seien ein näher rückendes Heer, um Feuer zu legen, öffneten die Tore und machten einen Ausfall gegen sie. Die Türken griffen von der anderen Seite an und eroberten die Stadt (2).

Die zweite Erzählung aus Serbia in Makedonien berichtet: Ein als Mönch verkleidete Mann riet den Türken, am Fest der Auferstehung angezündete Kerzen auf die Hörner der Ziegen zu befestigen. Als die Christen die Kerzen sahen, die sie der Sitte nach bei dieser Feier in Händen halten, glaubten sie, daß sie von anderen Christen getragen würden. Sie öffneten die Tore der belagerten Stadt und darauf drangen die Türken in sie ein (3).

Eine ähnliche List wurde von dem Feldherrn der Karthager Hannibal während des 2. punischen Krieges erfunden (217). Von dem Heer des römischen Feldherrn Fabius in einem Engpaß eingeschlossen, durch den er marschieren wollte, befahl Hannibal seinen Soldaten, auf die Hörner der Rinder Kerzen oder Weidenbüsche zu befestigen und sie während der Nacht in den Engpaß zu treiben. Der seltsame Anblick und die ganzen Umstände des Geschehens erschreckten die Römer, die zuerst wenigstens keine Erklärung dafür fanden, derartig, daß sie ihren Standort verließen, und so konnte Hannibal unbehindert durch den Paß ziehen.

2) Bei N. Γ. Πολίτης, Παραδόσεις A', Athen 1904, SS. 12-13, Nr. 18.
3) Ebd., SS. 11-12, Nr. 17.
1) Polyainos, [redacted] Leon. imper. strat. 24,5 (Melber). Vgl. Alphonsi Dain, Sylloge tacticorum quae olim «inedita Leonis tactica» dicebatur, Paris 1938, S. 140, Nr. 99,5.

1a) Commodianus (Instruct. [redacted] 1,13,7-8) schreibt: Vertebatque boves alienos semper in antris, Sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille.

Siehe auch: bei Roscher, a.a.O. 2,2, Sp. 3050, Franz Cumont, Textes et monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra 1, Bruxelles 1899, SS. 171-172, O. Gruppe, a.a.O und Fritz Saxl, Mithras. Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Berlin 1931 SS. 54 ff.

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Diese List findet man mit geringfügigen Variationen bei verschiedenen Schriftstellern. Aus Mangel an Zeit erwähne ich hier nur die Autoren, bei denen man sie länger oder kürzer dargestellt findet. Diese sind: Polybios **(1)**, Cornelius Nepos **(2)**, Livius **(3)**, Frontinus **(4)**, Quintilianus **(5)**, Silius Italicus **(6)**, Plutarchos **(7)**, Appianos **(8)**, Polyainos **(9)** und der Byzantiner Johannes Zonaras **(10)**.

Ein Gebrauch von Ziegen, wie auch die neugriechischen Sagen erzählen, zu dem oben erwähnten Zweck und die Befestigung von brennenden Fackeln auf ihren Hörnern werden bei einer ähnlichen List erwähnt, die die Bewohner der Stadt Aigeira auf dem Peloponnes erfunden haben. Pausanias schreibt: "da die Bewohner von Aigeira nicht in der Lage waren, das Heer der sie angreifenden Sikyonier abzuwehren," ἀθροίζουσιν αἶγας...συλλέξαντες δέ ἔδησαν πρὸς τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾷδας, καί ὡς πρόσω τῆς νυκτός ἦν, ἐξάπτουσι τάς δᾷδας. Σικυώνιοι δέ ἐνόμιζον γάρ συμμάχους τοῖς Ὑπερσιεῦσιν ἥκειν καί εἶναι τήν φλόγα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικουρικοῦ πυρός, οἱ μέν οἴκαδε ἐπανῆρχοντο...**(11)**. (d.h. trieben die Ziegen zusammen und banden ihnen Fackeln auf ihre Hörner. Als die Nacht vorgeschritten war, zündeten sie die Fackeln an. Die Sikyonier glaubten, daß Hilfe zu den Leuten von Aigeira gekommen sei und das Feuer von diesem stamme, und so gingen sie nach Hause).

Im 6. Jahrhundert greift Stephanos von Byzanz unter Bezug auf Pausanias die Geschichte noch einmal auf **(12)**.

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1) Polyb., III, 93-94.
2) Corn. Nep., Vitae, Hannibal 5.
3) Livius, 22, 16-17.
5) Quintil., Inst. or. 2, 17, 19.
4) Frontinus, I, 5, 28.
6) Sil. Italicus 7, 272 sq.
7) Plut., Fab. 6. Vgl. ebd. 29(2).
8) Appian., Hann. 14.
9) Polyain. Exc. 46, 10 (Melber).
10) Zonaras VIII, 26 (Bonn.).
11) Pausan. VII, 26, 2-3 (Spiro).
12) Stephanos, Ἐθνικά, Αἴγειρα. Eine Beziehung der Sage zu einem Gebrauch im Artemiskultus (Stichw) vermutet L. R. Farnell, The cults of the Greek States, Oxford 1896, S. 459.

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Schließlich hat der dritte Typ von Volkserzählungen, die, wie es scheint, einen historischen Grund haben, die Abwehr von Feinden durch Bienen zum Inhalt.

Wie heute auf der kleinen Kykladeninsel Anaphi erzählt wird, warfen die in der Festung belagerten Inselbewohner zu ihrer Verteidigung Körbe mit Bienen auf die Piraten (1).

Diese Erzählung ähnelt anderen, die man, soviel mir bekannt ist, bei den europäischen Völkern findet. Nach diesen Erzählungen wehrt man Feinde, die eine Stadt oder ein Kloster belagern, auf ähnliche Weise ab, während man seltener einen Sagentyp findet, wo die Feinde Körbe mit Bienen gegen die Verteidiger einer Stadt schleudern (2). Diese List wurde während des Dreißigjährigen und anderen Kriegen gebraucht (3).

Eine wohl überlegtere Art von Kriegslist zeigt eine Erzählung von der Insel Samos. Diese List wurde von einem Krieger dem Führer des Aufstandes Lykurgos Logothetis vorgeschlagen, als die Insel 1824 von den Türken betroht wurde. Der Mann schlug vor, an die günstigen Landeplätze der Insel Körbe mit Bienen zu setzen. Diese sollten durch Gewehrschüsse von weitem auseinandergerissen werden im gleichen Augenblick, wenn die Türken eine Invansion auf die Insel vornähmen, damit die auf solche Weise erzürnten Bienen die Feinde angriffen und sie abwehrten. Der Vorschlag wurde aber abgelehnt, weil man ihn für komisch hielt (4).

Auf jeden Fall ist diese List ziemlich alt. Meines Wissens gebrauchten unter anderem die Einwohner von Themiskyra im Pontos, Kleinasien, diese Abwehrart gegen die Römer im dritten Mithridatischen Krieg 73 v. Chr., wie der Historiker Appianos berichtet. Appianos sagt: Gegen die Römer, die große unterirdische Gänge gruben, um durch sie in die mutig verteidigte Stadt eindringen zu können" καί οἱ θεμισκύριοι ὁπᾶς ἄνωθεν ἐς αὐτούς ὀρύττοντες, ἄρκτους τε καί θηρία ἕτερα καί σμήνη μελισσῶν ἐς τούς ἐργαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον " (5). (gruben auch die Bewohner von Themiskyra

1) KA, Nr. 2957, S.246 und 247. Sp.
2) Handw. d. deutsch. Aberglaubens I, 1249-1250.
3) Otto Keller, Die antike Tierwelt 2, Leipzig 1913, S. 425.
4) Ἐπαμ. Σταματιάδου, Σαμιακά 2, 1881, S.366. Vgl. Στεφ. Δ. Ἠμέλλου, Ἡ περὶ θειρατῶν λαϊκὴ παράδοσις, Athen 1968, SS. 99-100, Not. 6.
5) Appian., Mithr. 78.

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von oben her an und warfen auf die unten Arbeitenden Bären, andere wilde Tiere und Bienenschwärme hinab).

Die Verbreitung der Sagen mit den hier erwähnten Listen bei den europäischen, aber gelegentlich auch anderen Völkern, zeigt, daß die Sagen, wenigstens in vielem, unabhängig sind von denen, welche die alten Schriftsteller erwähnen. [redacted] Die neugriechischen Parallelen [redacted] wahrscheinlich in etlichen Fällen dem Einfluß der alten Erzählungen unterliegen, die auch von den byzantinischen Schriftstellern erwähnt werden. Es gibt hier nämlich eine geschichtliche Tradition. Die heutigen neugriechischen Volkserzählungen haben fast durchweg mit der türkischen Herrschaft zu tun. Das kann man leicht erklären aus der Tatsache, daß das [redacted] Volk während dieser Periode von den herrschenden Türken viel erduldet hat, weshalb es bis heute die traurigen Eindrücke seiner Leidenszeit [redacted] lebendig in seinem Gedächtnis bewahrt.

MMB Editorial Notes

(1) It is a joy to acknowledge that during the 2020 research for participants' visual identities, Stefaan Top and Stephanos Imellos confirmed their own images (printed in this volume).

(2) In the background of the photo no. 2 („Restitutio" *Iconographic Intros*) one can see members of the Scandinavian group (M. Nolsøe & all... – as emphasized by photos in REF/JEF 1–2/2021: 224, 225, 285), Venetia Newall (idem: 224, 225, 293), and the American group of Richard M. Dorson, Wayland D. Hand, Donald Knight Wilgus.

(3) Between the bulk texts, a slip of paper gathering works in German reads: „30 VIII/ Comunicări Sala II/ 16-19" [August 30/ Paper Presentations Hall no. 2/ 4-7 pm]. Underneath, a pencil note wrote down and reminded: „Comunicarea lui N. Rădulescu trimisă la Berlin la cererea lui (J...)/ 18.III.1970" [N. Rădulescu's paper was sent to Berlin at the request of (J... = indescernable name)]. Printed or not in Germany, it is obvious that the very typing delivered within the actual Congress session was kept in the Bucharestan archive (version printed on present pages).

(4) Apart from Nicolae (Nikki) Rădulescu's text, the same slip of paper also foldered the articles in German by Milko Matičetov (from Ljubljana) and Stephanos D. Imellos (from Athens). For technical reasons (too many text lines and fragments faded or destroyed by scotch tape glued over), the first one (*„Duhovin" – das Kind in Schlangengestalt*, 16 p.) is nowadays unpublishable. The second paper, Imellos's, appeared in the Congress printed program without the 4th title particle (*den*). Actually, this paper was published by its author independently, some time after the 1969 Congress. The information was shared by Imellos himself to Evangelos Karamanes (my correspondant from Athens) on November 26, 2020. Due to its (historic) publishing, the first pragmatical thought could had been to avoid reprinting Imellos's Bucharest preserved paper. Yet, as an hommage to the kind, surviving senior (who contributed to the present publishing work by confirming his identity in the photo no. 17, and by specifying the names of the Greek academics who were present in – as well as of those who did not make it to – Bucharest in 1969), and in appreciation towards the graphical complexity and beauty of the actual paper (also involving colors), the here published original version certainly surpasses (both ethically and artistically) that first edition.

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VORLESUNG

DER VOLKSGLAUBE UND DAS SAGENMOTIV VOM DEUTSCHEN SCHÄFER IN FLANDERN*

Einige ~~Viele~~ von Ihnen werden sich wohl erinnern, dass Sie eine Frageliste von uns bekamen, welche sich auf unsre Studie über den deutschen Schäfer bezog. Die Antworten, die jetzt ~~noch~~ immer noch bei ~~mir~~ uns eintreffen, habe ~~ich~~ wir sorgfältig nachgeprüft und nach einem bestimmten Plan geordnet. Allen, die auf welche Weise auch immer auf ~~meine~~ unsere Anfrage hin geantwortet haben, sei an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt. ~~Mein~~ Unser besonderer Dank gilt jenen, die darüber hinaus ~~mir~~ uns noch weiteres dokumentarisches Material haben zukommen lassen.

Vor anderthalb Jahren hat mein Promotor, Prof. Dr. K.C. Peeters, ~~mich~~ uns beauftragt, dem Sagenmotiv des deutschen Schäfers eine umfassendere Arbeit zu widmen. Dieser Schäfer hielt sich in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts vor allem im Gebiet Westflanderns auf. Er stammte, wie wir sicher wissen, aus der Gegend Holländisch-Limburg und dem anschliessenden deutschen Rheinland. Seine Aufgabe bestand darin, Schafe zu hüten auf landwirtschaftlichen Gehöften, die das Recht auf Schafhaltung erworben hatten und über die nötigen Felder und Wiesen verfügten. Vom Mittelalter an bis ins 18. - 19. Jahrhundert ist die westeuropäische Landwirtschaft intensiv auf die Schafzucht eingestellt. Der Reichtum Flanderns beruhte anfänglich zum grössten Teil auf dem Tuchhandel, der auf die Schafzucht angewiesen war. Schafe aber gewährten einen dreifachen Nutzen: sie lieferten Fleisch, Wolle und Mist. Wer über die ausserordentliche Bedeutung des Schafmistes für die landwirtschaftlichen Erfordernisse Bescheid weiss, wird sehr ~~gut~~ wohl ~~verstehen~~ wissen, dass die Schafzucht in unseren Gebieten u.a. durch die Einführung eines neuen Verfahrens zur Bodenbewirtschaftung zurückgegangen ist, um dann später infolge einer weiter verbesserten Bemistungstechnik fast gänzlich zu verschwinden. Als die Schafzucht in Flandern immer mehr nachliess, kamen ausländische Schäfer herbei, um ihre Schafherden im Lande grasen zu lassen oder um als Schäfer in den Dienst von einheimischen Bauern zu treten. Die Einwanderung der fremden Schäfer brachte natürlich die am Platz wohnenden flämischen Schäfer in mancherlei Bedrängnis. Solche aus dem Osten kommenden Schäfer hiessen bei der einheimischen flämischen Bevölkerung durchweg die deutschen Schäfer. Durch ihre fremde Mundart, ihre abweichende Kleidung, ihr andersgeartetes Verhalten sowie ihre eigenen Bräuche erweckten sie den Argwohn der ländlichen Bevölkerung. Das alles bewirkte, dass der deutsche Schäfer von der eingesessenen Bevölkerung als ein fremdartiges, mit Zauberkraft versehenes Wesen, angesehen wurde. Was wir in Flandern über das Sagenmotiv des deutschen Schäfers ausmachen können, ist gewiss beachtenswert, allerdings nicht ausserge~~wöhn~~lich. Die vielen Sagen über die Zauberkraft, die beinahe dämonische Begabung, die man bei den Zigeunern, Juden und Aegyptern findet, weisen auf eine gleichgeartete Erscheinung. Die Tatsache, dass die "Vene-

*Für die Uebersetzung ins Deutsche bin ich dem Herrn Rudolf Kern, Wiss. Ass. an der Universität Löwen, sehr zu Dank verpflichtet.

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diger" die Fähigkeit besitzen durch allerlei Mittel verborgene Schätze leicht aufzufinden und auszugraben(1), beruht auf einunderselben Ursache: der besonderen Einstellung der Einheimischen, die in ihre Unwissenheit und Naivität den Fremden auf Grund deren ungewöhnlicher äusserer Erscheinung und Sprache eine übernatürliche Kraft zuwiesen.

Die erste allgemeine Feststellung, die wir treffen können, ist, dass der deutsche Schäfer in die Welt der Zauberer gehört, und zwar der männlichen Zauberer, die gemeinhin sich weniger bösartig bezeigen als die Hexen. Dafür, dass die Hexen bösartiger sind als die Zauberer, möchten wir folgende Erklärung zu geben versuchen: als die schlechten Engel anlässlich ihres Aufstandes im Himmel gestürzt wurden und zu Teufeln bzw. Satanen wurden, verloren sie damit ihre bevorzugte Stellung als Botschafter und Mittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen. Dadurch wurden sie - auf der göttlich ontologischen Ebene - zu direkten Gegenspielern Gottes und seiner Helfer. Das Gute und das Böse, das bereits vor dem Aufstand der Engel bestand, wurde nun in der Zweiheit Gott und Teufel verkörpert. Durch die Erschaffung des Menschen entstand eine zweite ontologische Ebene. Im Verhältnis der beiden ontologischen Ebenen - Gott und Teufel einerseits, der Mensch andrerseits - versuchen Gott und der Teufel ihren Einfluss auf den Menschen auszudehnen. Das bedeutet, dass der auf der oberen Ebene ausgetragene Streit zwischen Gott und dem Teufel, sich auf die menschliche Ebene hin ausbreitet. Gott suchte Vertreter auf der Erde und stiftete die Kirche, die das Gute darstellen sollte. Aber der widerstrebende Teufel ruhte nicht, sondern suchte sich seinerseits eine Anhängerschaft. Eine der wichtigsten Vertreter der bösen Mächte auf Erden ist die Hexe. Und wenn in Hunderten von Volkserzählungen dargetan wird, dass die Hexen bei ihrer jährlichen Zusammenkunft Verantwortung ablegen müssen und dabei vom Teufel neue Kraft für ihr weiteres unheilvolles Treiben geschenkt bekommen, dann zeigt das deutlich das Festhalten des Volksglaubens an der Vorstellung von der gewaltigen Macht des Satans auf Erden. Sagen wir es vereinfachend: die Hexen sind die direkten Nachfahren der Dämonen und Teufel auf Erden. Während die Hexen in mehr als 90% aller Hexenerzählungen als böse, ja vernichtende Wesen erwähnt werden, lässt sich über die männlichen Zauberer sagen, dass ihr Wirken doch sehr viel weniger zerstörerisch ist. Die Zauberer sind mehr Spassmacher, Possenreisser, Plagegeister, die fast niemals, wie die Hexen, ihre Zauberkraft gegen Menschen und Tiere anwenden.

Den Typ eines solchen guten Zauberers bildet der deutsche Schäfer, wie wir ihm in der westflämischen Volkssagenüberlieferung begegnen. Die Sagen,

1) G. HEILFURTH u. I.M. GREVERUS, Bergbau und Bergmann in der deutschsprachigen Sagenüberlieferung Mitteleuropas. Bd. I - Quellen. Marburg, 1967, Besonders SS. 210-211, 732-841.

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die über den deutschen Schäfer heute noch in Umlauf sind, lassen sich im wesentlichen nach drei Motivgruppen ordnen: das Binden und Aufstellen des Korns, das Besiegen des Bösen durch Lesen von Seiten Uneingeweihter im Zauberbuch, und der Luftritt. Dazu kommen noch andere Sagen, die vom Schäfer als Plaggeist handeln.

Diese hier gegebene Einteilung nach Motivgruppen ist zunächst nur provisorisch. Weitere Studien werden erweisen, ob noch neue Motive hinzukommen werden. Das Resultat der bisher gegebenen Untersuchung hat dennoch gezeigt, dass der deutsche Schäfer ein zauberkräftiger Mann ist, der seine Zauberkraft nur in äusserst seltenen Fällen negativ einsetzt.

Im Weiteren wollen wir die einzelnen Motive etwas gründlicher untersuchen und dabei achtgeben, ob eine Vermischung unserer Motive mit anderen Sagenmotiven festzustellen ist. Zu jedem einzelnen Motiv wollen wir ein typisches Beispiel aus unserer Sagensammlung anführen (2).

Das Motiv des Bindens und Aufstellens von Korn wird folgendermassen in der Volkssage behandelt: während der Kirmeszeit auf dem Dorf wird den jungen Leuten der Auftrag gegeben, das gemähte Korn in Bündeln zusammenzufassen und aufzustellen, was sie natürlich nur ungern tun, da sie viel lieber zum Tanzfest ins Dorf gehen möchten. Als sie nun bei der Arbeit sind, kommt der Schäfer vorbei und wundert sich, sie auf dem Felde statt auf dem Dorffest tätig zu sehen. Einer der Knechte erklärt dem Schäfer, dass sie ins Dorf gehen dürften, sobald sie ihre Arbeit erledigt hätten. Der Schäfer erklärt sich bereit ihre Arbeit zu übernehmen und befiehlt ihnen, sich auf den Bauch zu legen, die Hände vor die Augen zu halten und zehn Minuten nicht aufzuschauen. So tun sie es. Ein Neugieriger unter ihnen sieht doch auf und erkennt auf jedem Getreidebündel ein Männchen mit einer roten Mütze. Die Folge seiner Neugierde ist, dass sein Teil der Arbeit liegen bleibt, während die anderen Knechte froh das Feld verlassen und ins Dorf zurückgehen können. Zwei Elemente aus diesem Vorgang sind unseres Erachtens bemerkenswert: die Männchen mit ihren roten Mützen und der Ungehorsam, der bestraft wird. Dieser moralisierende Zug erweist sich als ein typisches Merkmal bei der Betrachtung des deutschen Schäfers. Die Männchen erinnern uns an die bekannten Heinzelmännchen. Was hierbei auffällt, ist, dass der Schäfer über die Männchen anscheinend Macht besitzt, d.h., dass er fremde Mächte für sich arbeiten lassen kann. Eine ähnliche Erscheinung stellen wir fest bei dem Motiv, das die Folgen des Lesens in einem Zauberbuch durch einen Uneingeweihten darstellt: der Schäfer ist mit seiner Herde weggezogen und in sei

(2) S. TOP, Onderzoek naar de sagenmotieven in het Vrijbos. Unveröffentlichte Lizenzabhandlung, Löwen, 1964, 2 Teile.

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ner Abwesenheit sucht der Knecht nach dem Zauberbuch, um darin zu lesen. Er hat gerade erst zu lesen angefangen, als über dem Bauernhof ganze Scharen kreischender Krähen umherfliegen. Der Schäfer merkt sofort, dass etwas nicht in Ordnung ist und kommt schnell nach Hause zurück. Da angekommen, ruft er: "Jemand hat die Teufel herbeigeholt und jetzt fordern sie Arbeit!" Er läuft auf den Speicher, schüttet von da aus auf den Innenhof einige Säcke Korn hinunter und ruft zu den Vögeln: "Für jeden ein Körnchen!" Alle Körner werden dann aufgepickt, die Vögel fliegen davon, das Böse ist verschwunden. In vielen Fällen reicht dieser eine Auftrag nicht aus und der Schäfer muss den Vögeln einen zweiten und manchmal sogar einen dritten Auftrag erteilen, der stets schwieriger zu erfüllen ist. So wird z.B. das Korn statt auf den Boden auf einen Holzstapel oder auf einen Misthaufen geschüttet, sodass die Körner entweder zwischen den Holzscheiten hindurchfallen oder am Mist hängen bleiben. Falls die Vögel auch diese Aufgabe lösen, giesst der Schäfer einen Eimer Milch oder Brei in einen Wassertrog mit der Auflage, die Milch bzw. den Brei vom Wasser zu scheiden. Dies gelingt den Vögeln aber nie, so wird das Böse endgültig überwunden. Auch bei diesem Sagenbeispiel ist der moralisierende Zug wieder deutlich erkennbar, nämlich in der Bestrafung der Neugier des Knechtes. Dieses Motiv führt uns in den Bereich des geprellten Teufels oder des Teufels, der jeglichen Anspruch auf eine Seele fahren lassen muss, weil er vor eine unmögliche Aufgabe gestellt ist. Das dritte Motiv lässt sich etwa folgendermassen skizzieren: jeden Samstagabend reitet der Schäfer auf dem Rücken eines Tieres - meistens ist es ein Bock oder ein Pferd - nach Deutschland, um frische Unterwäsche zu holen. Einer der Knechte fragt ihn, ob er mitkommen dürfe. Er darf dann mitkommen, wenn er einen bestimmten Spruch richtig nachsagen und darüber hinaus unbedingt schweigen kann. In vielen Erzählungen sagt der Knecht den Spruch verkehrt nach; er sagt dann an Stelle von "Ueber Hag und Wälder" "Durch Hag und Wälder", was dann zur Folge hat, dass er auf seinem Weg gegen alle Hindernisse anstösst und ganz zerbeult am Ziel ankommt. Oder er kann, wenn sein Reittier in einem Satz über ein grosses Wasser springt, entgegen seinem gelobten Schweigen seine Bewunderung nicht unterdrücken und ruft laut aus: "Was ist das doch ein herrlicher Sprung für solch einen kleinen Bock!" Darauf taumelt er vom Bock herunter und bleibt, schwer verletzt, manchmal mehrere Tage lang liegen, um dann zu Fuss wieder nach Hause zurückzukehren. Das Verkehrtsagen des Spruchs und das Brechen des Schweigegebotes während des Luftritts sind zwei Elemente, die deutlich auf die Sagen von Hexenversammlungen zurückweisen, wo der Junge seine Verlobte belauscht, die sich mit Salbe einschmiert und mit einem dem oben genannten gleichartigen Spruch durch den Schornstein verschwindet. Eine andere wichtige Einzelheit ist die Reise durch die Luft auf dem Rücken eines Bocks. Das führt uns hin zu den Bockreitern, einer Banditenbande, die Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts den östlichen Teil Bel-

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giens unsicher machte. Der Volksmund behauptet von den Bockreitern, dass sie mit dem Teufel verkehrten und auf Böcken durch die Luft ritten. Die Wechselwirkung zwischen dem Motiv des deutschen Schäfers und dem der Bockreiter haben bereits die Forscher festgestellt, die für die flämischen Provinzen Sagensammlungen angelegt haben (3). Wenn wir dabei noch bedenken, dass einige deutsche Schäfersagen u.a. den Schäfer und den Knecht in einen Weinkeller nach Köln fliegen lassen, dann zeigt dies den Reichtum an, in dem sich dieses Sagenmotiv entfaltet hat. Unsere Beschäftigung mit dem hier kurz angerissenen Stoff ist noch nicht so weit vorgedrungen, dass wir alle Einzelheiten nach ihrem wahren Wert einstufen können. Aus dem Material, das wir schon jetzt überblicken können, lässt sich aussagen, dass das Motiv des deutschen Schäfers, obwohl sich sein Vorkommen ausschliesslich auf Flandern, genauer Westflandern beschränkt, ergiebig genug ist, um in einer Doktorarbeit behandelt zu werden, die die flämische Sagenforschung ohne Zweifel bereichern wird.

Die drei soeben kurz umrissenen Motive bilden natürlich nur einen geringen Teil des ganzen Sagenschatzes über den deutschen Schäfer. Wir hörten schon, dass der deutsche Schäfer auch ein Plaggeist ist, d.h. dass er strafend auftritt, wenn man ihm auf die eine oder andere Art Unrecht tut, weshalb wir ihn als Hüter des Moralischen ansprechen wollen. Das rächende Verhalten des Schäfers wird manchmal auch durch seine Zauberkraft dargestellt. Neben dieser Besonderheiten finden sich noch andere weitere, allgemeinere Wesenszüge beim deutschen Schäfer, die in all ihren Vereinzelungen doch einige Hauptzüge dieses Bildes vom Schäfer als Plaggeist erkennbar werden lassen. Wenn so der Schäfer jemanden an eine Stelle bindet oder ihn herumirren lässt, weil dieser gegen ihn geschimpft hat, oder wenn er diejenigen, die ihn verspottet haben, am Hintern seines Wachhundes riechen lässt, oder wenn der Schäfer, dem, der ihn angreift, Prügel gibt, indem er auf seinen eigenen Mantel schlägt, oder nach der Musik seiner Flöte ihn tanzen lässt, sodass er dabei fast umkommt, dann sind das alles Einzelzüge, die wir auch in anderen Zauberersagen wiederfinden können und die daher nicht ausschliesslich in den Sagenbereich des deutschen Schäfers gehören. Nicht nur in den deutschen Schäfersagen, sondern auch in den allgemeinen Schäfersagen, ja überhaupt in den Sagen der Zauberwelt, in denen männliche Zauberer vorkommen, tauchen die eben angegebenen Einzelzüge auf. Wir erinnern uns, vor einigen Jahren einen Kurzfilm gesehen zu haben, worin ein Pärchen, das über eine Berglandschaft spazierte, es unterlassen hat, den Schäfer zu grüssen. Zur Strafe liess der Schäfer ein Unwetter losbrechen, indem er auf seiner Flöte spielte. Dieses Beispiel verstärkt unsere Annahme, dass der Schäfer, wie im Volksglauben so auch in der Kunst,

3) Darauf hat K.C. Peeters aufmerksam gemacht in seinem Artikel "Not an neuem und zuverlässigem Material" in: Volksüberlieferung. Festschr. f. K. Ranke. Hrsg. von F. Harkort, K.C. Peeters und R. Wildhaber. Göttingen, 1968. 287-295.

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einen bedeutenden Platz eingenommen hat. Mit einigem Grund ist zu vermuten, dass in Flandern, wo die Schafzucht schon immer sehr intensiv betrieben worden ist, das Bild des zauberkräftigen Schäfers eine Kontinuität bewirkt hat, deren Spuren aus dem mittelalterlichen und nachmittelalterlichen Schrifttum in eingehenden Untersuchungen noch herauszulösen wären. Die Antwort auf die Frage, warum der deutsche Schäfer als Fremder in unsren Gegenden einen solchen Einfluss auf die Herausbildung der Sagenüberlieferung gehabt hat, muss nach unserer Meinung einmal in dem gewaltigen Eindruck gesucht werden, den die Schäfer auf die flämische Bevölkerung gemacht hatten und zum anderen in dem damals noch sehr lebendigen Volksglauben an die Zauberkraft des Schäfers. Wenn wir, wie wir mit Recht meinen, eine Kontinuität der deutschen Schäfersage annehmen dürfen, dann ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass wir vor fünf Jahren in einem Gebiet von 15 westflämischen Gemeinden noch 33 Sagen und Sagenvarianten vom deutschen Schäfer aufzeichnen konnten, die zwanzig bruchstückhaften Andeutungen nit mitgerechnet. Daraus geht deutlich der Stoffreichtum und die Aktualität unsres Themas hervor.

Wir haben bereits gesprochen von der moralischen Funktion des deutschen Schäfers. Dazu tritt als ein weiterer Aspekt sein stark betont humaner Charakter. So kann er es nur schwer mitansehen, dass die auf dem Feld arbeitenden jungen Knechte die Freude des Kirchweihfestes entbehren müssen. Er verwendet gerne seine Zauberkraft dazu, die Leute von der Last der Arbeit zu befreien. Er tritt gleichfalls sehr sozial-fühlend auf, wenn die Leute an einem Sonntag oder an einem brütendheissen Nachmittag arbeiten müssen. Sein Gerechtigkeitsgefühl wird offenbar, wenn er einen Knecht sieht, der vom Bauern entlassen worden war, weil er während der Zeit, in der der Schäfer seine Zauberkunst ausübte, verbotenerweise aufgeschaut hatte und dadurch mit seinem Tagewerk nicht fertig wurde. Der Schäfer verursacht darauf hin auf dem Bauernhof soviel Unheil, dass der Bauer den entlassenen Knecht wieder in Dienst nehmen muss. Eine gewisse Form von Religiösität äussert sich beim Schäfer darin, dass er einen Wagen Holz, der an einem Sonntag vollgeladen wurde, wodurch die Sonntagsruhe gestört war, statt in die Scheune auf das Dach der Scheune hinaufziehen liess.

Zusammenfassend stellen wir fest, dass das Sagenmotiv über den deutschen Schäfer sich zu einer Einzeluntersuchung sehr gut eignet, dass aber die Gestalt des Schäfers selbst unter psychologischen Gesichtspunkten vortrefflich behandelt werden kann. Die historische Untersuchung muss herausarbeiten, unter welchen Umständen und wann der deutsche Schäfer als historische Erscheinung im flämischen Gebiet zum Sagenstoff geworden ist. Aufgabe einer soziologischen Betrachtung ist es zu prüfen, welche gesellschaftliche Stellung der deutsche Schäfer innerhalb der Gesellschaft zu der er gehörte, innehatte, und wer die Träger und Verbreiter dieses Sagenschatzes waren und sind, m.a.W. ob diese von Berufs wegen oder wegen anderer Lebensumstände eine ausgesprochene Vorliebe für den bedeutsamen und fesselnden Sagenstoff des deutschen Schäfers empfanden.

Stefaan TOP

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MYTHUSMOTIVE IN EINIGEN RUMÄNISCHEN VOLKSBRÄUCHEN

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Es ist bekannt, dass die Erzählmotive leicht von einer zur anderen Literaturgattung wandern, sowohl innerhalb der Volks- als auch der Kultliteratur. Man kennt Motive - manchmal Sequenzen und vollständige Themen - die dem Mythus und dem Märchen, dem Märchen und dem Epos, dem Mythus und dem Epos, dem Mythus, dem Märchen und den zeremoniellen Liedern, dem Mythus und den heiligen Legenden u.s.w. gemein sind. Dies sind verhältnismässig häufige Verzweigungs-, Kumulations-, Trennungs-, Wiederausarbeitungsfälle, die als Bestandteile der fortdauernden Verwandlung der Erzählungen zum Vorschein kommen. Einer der Aspekte des Lebens der Erzählmotive wird von ihrer Wiederspiegelung in dem "Spielbuch", also in der effektiven Handlung der Volksriten gebildet. Es handelt sich um die Ausführung einiger Aktionen die dramatisch(kinetisch) die Erzählung beschreiben. In diesem Falle, geht es nicht um das Konkordanz-Verhältnis des Wortes zum Wort(oder der Idee zur Idee), wie in allen obenerwähnten Fällen, sondern der Idee zur Geste. In diesem Gleichlauf von Wort und Tat erreicht man das Wesen der Magie.

Man kann in der rumänischen Volksüberlieferung verschiedene Typen solcher Konkordanzen unterscheiden. Eine gewisse Entsprechung Wort-Gebärde kommt in den Zaubersprüchen zum Ausdruck, wo die Gebärde den Vorrang hat. Nicht weit davon befindet sich die in einigen Agrarfruchtbarkeits- (Paparuda, Muma ploii, Plugușorul) oder Bestattungsriten(Bradul) vorkommende Übereinstimmung. Die meisten Handlungsmotive der Riten haben keine "Geschichte". Sie gehören einer archaischen Schicht an, die in der Urkunden nicht verzeichnet ist und deren Evolution, die dem Volkskundler als gewiss erscheint, bleibt jedoch der Geschichtswissenschaft verborgen. Andere solche Motive weisen Entsprechungen mit schriftlich bezeugten Erzählmotiven auf. Wir werden einige Beispiele darbringen die insbesonders an die klassische Mythologie anknüpfen.

1. Die Mythologie sagt uns, dass bestimmte Vegetationsgötter (Du-mu-zi, Adonis, Attis) als junge Hirten gedacht wurden. Ein junger Hirt erscheint als Hauptgestalt im Volksbrauch des Lazăr - einem Frühlingsritus mit dem Substrat eines Volksvegetationskultes. Wir haben schon früher die vollständige Übereinstimmung des rumänischen

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Lazăr-Ritualliedes und der adonischen Sagen bewiesen[1]. Von der Hirtenfabel, wie sie von Theokrit[2] und Ovidius[3] erzählt ist, kommt in einer rumänischen Variante[4] das folgende Handlungsmotiv vor: a) eine Gestalt (tatsächlich ein Mädchen) die als Hirte verkleidet ist, geht zu einem Hain wo sie auf eine Weide klettert, deren Sprossen abhaut um damit die Schafe und Ziegen zu füttern ; (Variante) dieselbe Gestalt zerhackt während der Vorführung des Liedes die Weidensprossen. Ebenfalls dem Hirtenmotiv soll die Tat beigefügt werden, dass die Darsteller die Zeremonie mitten in einer Schafhürde vollführen, um einen Salzblock der danach den Schafen als Nahrung übergeben wird[5]. Das Motiv der Braut-Buhlerin die als paredron der Vegetationsgötter vorkommt, findet seine Korrespondenz in der anderen Hauptgestalt des Lazăr-Volksbrauches: "die Braut", die von einem Mädchen in Hochzeitstracht gespielt wird. Eine ganze Variantenfamilie, sowohl rumänische als auch balkanische, hat ein Hochzeitspaar[6] als Hauptgestalten.

2. Konkordanz zwischen Motivsequenzen. Der Scaloian-Volksbrauch[7] weist auf eine hervortretende Parallelität mit Agrar- und Vegetationsmythen, insbesonders mit dem Osirismythus, hin. Die entsprechenden Motive verknüpfen sich in einer Folge:

Scaloian	Osiris
a) das Abbild wird in einen Sarg gelegt und den Wellen eines Flusses übergeben.	a) Seth-Typhon, Osiris' Feind, bringt Osiris dahin sich in einen Sarg - der nach dem genauen Mass des Osirisleibes hergestellt wurde - hineinzulegen. Von 72 Verschwörern unterstützt verschliesst Seth den Sarg und lässt ihn vom Nil stromabwärts treiben[8].
b) der Sarg ist aus Schilfrohr hergestellt[9].	b) Das Schilfrohr war ein Symbol des Osiris[10]. Jedes Jahr treibt aus Ägypten nach Phönizien das mit Papyrus umwickelte Haupt des Osiris über das Meer hin[11].
c) Eines der Mädchen versteckt das Abbild, und ein anderes soll danach suchen bis es gefunden wird. Dann wird das Abbild von dem zweiten Mäd-	c) die tragische Suche nach dem verschwundenen Gott bildet eine typische Episode der Vegetationsmythen. In einer solchen Lage zeigen sich Isis[13], Aphrodite[14],

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chen versteckt und ein anderes Mädchen beginnt es zu suchen; die Handlung setzt sich gleicherweise fort bis die Zahl der Teilnehmerinnen erschöpft ist[12].

Demeter[15].

d) das Abbild wird wie ein Toter beweint.

d) der wiederaufgefundene Leichnam des Osiris wird von Isis lange betrauert[16].

e) bevor man das Tonabbild ins Wasser wirft, wird es zergliedert und seine Stücke werden auf den Feldern zerstreut[17].

e) Seth-Typhon entdeckt in einer Nacht den unbewachten Sarg mit dem Leichnam des Osiris und, im Mondschein, zergliedert er den Gottesleib. Er zerstreut die Stücke überallhin[18].
Die Zergliederung ist auch in den die syrischen und babylonischen Vegetationsgötter betreffenden Sagen vorzufinden.
Derselbe Zwischenfall tritt desgleichen in den Mythen des Orpheus, des Zagreus und des Dionysos auf.

f) nur das Haupt des Scaloian wird ins Wasser geworfen[19].

f) das Haupt des Osiris treibt auf dem Meer von Ägypten nach Byblos, in Phönizien[20].
Das Haupt des Orpheus, von den thrakischen Frauen zergliedert, wird in den Fluss Hebrus geworfen[21].

3. Substrat-Korrelation zwischen Motive. Unter den Erzählmotiven die ziemlich oft in der Volksliteratur der Völker der Welt angetroffen werden, steht das Motiv der Wassererlangung mittels eines menschlichen Opfers, in der Regel durch das Anbieten einer Jungfrau. Dieses Motiv - Beweggrund für das Einschreiten des Retters - liegt einer der kennzeichnenden Episoden des Märchentypus ATh 300 zugrunde. Es hat eine Korrespondenz in bestimmten Riten die sich, unter abwandelbaren Formen, über eine weite geographische Area ausdehnen[22]. Zum Unterschied von dem Erzählmotiv, ersetzt der Ritus - der einen allgemein bekan-

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nten Austauschmechanismus anwendet - das menschliche Opfer durch ein Tieropfer oder - am häufigsten - durch ein menschliches Abbild(Typus I).Manchmal bleibt die Gestalt ein reelles Menschenwesen, die Opferung wird jedoch auf eine Scheinhandlung reduziert(Typus II).In der rumänischen Volksüberlieferung kommt das Motiv sowohl in den phantastischen Märchen[23] als auch in bestimmten Handlungen innerhalb der Volksbräuche vor.Der erste Typus(Scheinopferwesen) bildet den Kern eines Regenbeschwörungsritus:Sulul - vor kurzem beschrieben[24].Das Substrat des Motivs, das nämlich eine Opfergabe zur Erhaltung des Wassers ist, lässt sich im Verlauf dieses Brauches erkennen:eine grosse Puppe, als Mädchen angezogen, wird unter Wehklagen zu einem Fluss gebracht und dort auf das Wasser gelegt[25].Eine eigenartige Form des Brauches enthält eine bemerkenswerte Einzelheit (das Gesicht der Puppe mit einem Brautschleier verhüllt)[26] die den Märchenvarianten in welchen die Prinzessin als Braut dem verschlingenden Ungetüm geopfert wird, entspricht.Der zweite Typus(Scheinopferhandlung) liegt einem anderen, (ebenfalls) als regentragenden Agrarritus betrachtet, zugrunde: Plugarul[27]. In diesem Volksbrauch wird das gewaltsame Bringen einer Gestalt(gewöhnlich die eines jungen Mannes) zum Fluss vorgetäuscht, wo sie "gezwungen" wird ins Wasser zu steigen, (manchmal) den Kopf unter Wasser zu tauchen.[28]

Die obenaufgezeichneten Entsprechungen stellen die Frage einer eventuellen Verbindung zwischen den in Betracht kommenden Motiven. Es wäre sehr schwer eine unmittelbare Abstammung - Hypothese für die es keine entscheidenden Beweismittel gibt[29] - abzuleiten.Wahrscheinlicher scheint eine mittelbare genetische Beziehung.Es wären also, einerseits, die Ritusmotive die im Rahmen ritueller, in jeder Volkskultur vorkommenden Äusserungen, integriert werden sollen, zu betrachten.Es ist zu vermuten, dass die Wurzeln vieler von diesen bis zum Neolithikum verfolgt werden könnten.Andererseits, wäre der Komplex mythologischen Glaubens, dem ebenso uralte Traditionen und Sagen zugrunde liegen, zu betrachten.Es ist aber zu bemerken, dass sich ursprünglich die Mythologie überall in enger Verbindung mit bestimmten Zeremonien, die verschiedene mythische Begebenheiten in Handlung setzen, entwickelt.Diese Handlungs-Vorstellungen können sakral-kultisch(die antiken Mysterien), demotisch(der antike Mimus, die Volksriten) oder profan-kultiviert(die antike Tragödie) sein, und auch zwischen den sakral-weltlichen und kultiviert(kastengebunden)-volkstümlichen Extremen schwanken.Also, statt reiner Mythologie könnte man eher von Mythus-Ritus Komplexen sprechen.[30] Eine Folge von Analo-

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gien zwischen Mythen und Volksglauben, zwischen Volksglauben und Mysterien weisen auf unitäre Quellen des Bildens der antiken Kultur hin[31].Während es nicht schwer ist, gegenseitige Kontakte und Eingüsse zwischen den von der Priesterkaste geschaffenen und den volkstümlichen Mythus-Ritus Komplexen anzunehmen, bleibt jedoch die Frage der Beziehung zwischen Mythus und Ritus im Dunkeln.Stellt denn der Mythus den Ausgangspunkt des Ritus dar, oder wird vielleicht letzterer mittels des ätiologischen Mythus ausgelegt?Auch wenn die Frage unlösbar scheint, bleibt es trotzdem zweifellos, dass die beiden Äusserungen sich in enger Verbindung entwickeln und ~~ihre~~ als zwei Seiten desselben komplexen Phänomens in der Geschichte auftreten.Es handelt sich um ein und dieselbe magisch-kultische Absicht die zweischichtig geäussert wird, und zwar auf der Ebene des Begriffs und auf der der Tat;diese laufen innerhalb des Ritus zusammen.In einer weiteren Phase wird ihr Konkordanzverhältnis oftmals wegen der (spezifischen) Evolution der einen oder der anderen Ebene verändert.Im Fall der rumänischen Volksbräuche offenbart die dichterische(also sprachbegriffliche) Seite mehr Labilität; sie ändert sich leichter, sie "modernisiert" sich[32]. Als Folge davon kann der veränderte Text - zur Wiederherstellung der logischen Konkordanz - Änderungen der Handlung nach sich ziehen[33]. Die Mythus-Ritus Konvergenz, die wenn sie in demselben Zeitabschnitt und in demselben Land eingetreten ist, als funktionsmässig erscheint, bekommt eine andere Bedeutung, wenn sie geschieht in verschiedene Zeitabschnitte und Ländern - wie in unserem Fall.Wenn man die Übereinstimmung mehrerer zeitgenössischer Handlungsmotive die zur Donaukarpatischen Volksüberlieferung gehören und antiker mythologischen Motive aus dem griechisch-asiatischen Orient erklären wollte, sollte man in Betracht ziehen, dass den antiken Mythen, in demselben kulturgeographischen Raum Riten gleichen Inhalts entsprachen.So, zum Beispiel, schloss der Osiriskult dem Scaloian ähnliche Riten ein[34].Solche Riten bestanden auch im Adoniskult[35].Es ist anzunehmen, dass Riten solcher Art im Altertum nicht nur im Vorderen Orient sondern auch im karpato-balkanischen Raum vorhanden waren[36]; die - wahrschein lich in neolithischen örtlichen Kulturen stattfindende - Entstehung und die danach kommende Entfaltung dieser Riten ist vermutlich mit einer gleichartigen Entwicklung der landwirtschaftlichen Techniken in Verbindung zu setzen[37].Für das Vorhandensein einer genetischen und evolutiven Beziehung zwischen den antiken und den gegenwärtigen Riten in unserem kulturgeographischen Raum spricht der Orpheus-Mythus - thrakisch als ethnokulturelle und balkanisch als geographische Herkunft.Im Rahmen des orphischen Mythus-Ritus Komplexes - eines der

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umfangreichsten aller antiken Kultur - hätte ein weitreichendes Fortwähren bestimmter Motive stattfinden können; diese Motive, umgestaltet, sind sowohl den Volksriten als auch dem Christentum[38] überliefert worden. Auf diese Weise wird die Mythus-Ritus Entsprechung, in unserem Falle, durch die Entsprechung von Ritus zu Ritus vermittelt.

Eine der interessantesten Charakteristika der Volksbräuche-Komplexe ist die Nicht-Gleichzeitigkeit der Entstehung ihrer Elemente. Meistens sind diese um eine Funktion gehäuft, und zwar in einer unvollständigen Zusammenschmelzung welche gewöhnlich die Möglichkeit ihre Heterogenität aufzufinden, offenlässt. Unter diesen Elementen sind einige neueren und laiischen Charakters, andere sind bloss Relikte, magischen oder religiösen Inhalts. Mittels der im Altertum ausgeführten Riten, die - gemeinsam mit den Mythen - das Phänomen des "Mythus-Ritus Komplexes" bildeten, können die heutigen Relikte mit Handlungsepisoden und mit begrifflichen Motiven aus der Mythologie oder aus Märchen übereinstimmen. Das beweist, dass die konkordanten Elemente Überbleibsel einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe sind, der ein früherer Geisteszustand zugrunde liegt[39]. Andererseits aber, ist die räumliche Verbreitung einiger Motive auch nicht auszuschliessen. Diese eventuelle Wanderung ist - in unserem Fall - nur zu begreifen als eine Schichtung auf einen lokalen Hintergrund, die in einer seiner Entwicklungsphasen vorkommt[40].

Die Verbreitungsmöglichkeit mancher Motive, obwohl nicht zweifelsfrei zu beweisen[41], wird trotzdem von bestimmten Kulturtatsachen unterstützt. Vielleicht, sollte man zur Erwägung dieser Möglichkeit, einer Erscheinung wie dem erwähnten religiösen Sykretismus, der eine Vervielfältigung der Kontakte zwischen den Kulturen hervorgerufen und eine Verquickung von der Art der hermetischen, orphischen oder gnostischen Literatur erzeugt hat, eine grössere Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Die Hypothese einer Verbreitung, die in einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe der Lokalkulte erfolgt ist, kann auch von der räumlichen Kontinuität solchartiger Riten wie sie hier angeführt wurden, bestätigt werden. Diese Riten sind gleichmässig auf der Balkanhalbinsel und im Vorderen Orient verbreitet[42]. Unabhängig aber von einer Wanderung der Traditionen und unabhängig von der späteren funktionellen Entwicklung[43], rechnen wir damit, dass das Substrat der hier angeführten Konkordanz-Motive aus einer gemeinsamen, heute verfallenen, Urschichte hervorgeht, die gleichartige Ausdrucksformen geprägt hatte.-

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F U S S N O T E N

1 N.Rădulescu, Lazăr - o versiune românească a eroului vegetaţional [Lazăr - eine rumänische Version des Vegetationsdämons]. Revista de etnografie şi folclor [Zeitschrift für Ethnographie und Folklore] Nr.4/1966, S319-339, Bukarest 1966.

2 Idylle XX.

3 Metamorphoseon liber X, 298-739.

4 Aufgenommen im Jahr 1966 in der Ortschaft Şoldanu, Bezirk Ilfov.

5 Informationen gesammelt im Jahr 1968 in der Ortschaft Prundu, Bezirk Olt.

6 cf. Theokrits Bericht(Idylle XV) über das Hochzeitspaar des Adonisfestes in Alexandrien.

7 Der Brauch besteht aus der Verfertigung einer Puppe aus Ton oder Lappen, etwa 2o-4o cm. lang, - menschliches Abbild - die als menschlicher Leichnam betrachtet wird.Von den Kindern beweint wird die Puppe erstens begraben dann, nach drei Tagen, ausgegraben und ins Wasser geworfen.

8 Plutarchi De Iside et Osiride § 13.

9 In den Ortschaften Mînăstirea, Bez. Ilfov;Grădiştea, Rasa und Vărăşti, Bez.Ialomiţa.

1o Plutarch, op.cit.,§36.

11 De Dea Syria § 7.Das Umwickeln mit Schilfrohr war ein Bestattungsritus bei den alten Ägyptern.In dem protodynastischen Zeitalter stellten die Bewohner des Nildeltas die Särge aus geflochtenem Rohr her(Flinders Petrie, Tarkhan, I;in W.Liungman, Traditionswanderungen Euphrat-Rhein, I, Helsinki 1937, S.118 [Folklore Fellow Communications])

12 In den Ortsch. Ulmu und Dorobanţu, Bez. Ialomiţa.

13 Plutarch, op.cit., § 14,18.

15 Homerische Hymne IV (an Demeter).

14 Bionos, Adonidos Epitaphios, 19-24.

16 Plutarch, op.cit., § 16,17.

17 Varianten im Jahre 1966 in den Ortschaften Grădiştea, Dorobanţu und Unirea, Bez. Ialomiţa, aufgenommen.

18 Plutarch, op.cit., § 18.

19 In der Ortschaft Grădiştea, Bez. Ialomiţa.

2o "Jedes Jahr kommt von Ägypten nach Byblos ein Haupt das 7 Tage auf den Wellen treibt:die Wellen schaffen es mittels einer rätselhaften Kraft; niemals wird es in eine andere Richtung getrieben und niemals verfehlt es Byblos.Das ist ein wahres Wunder das sich jedes Jahr ereignet und welchem ich während meines Aufenthalts in Byblos beigewohnt habe, wo ich dieses Haupt aus Papyrus gesehen habe."(De Dea Syria § 7)

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21 "...spretae Ciconum quo munere matres
Inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi
Discerptum latos juvenem sparsere per agros.
Tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum
Gurgite cum medio portans OEagrius Hebrus
Volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
Ah! miseram Eurydicen, anima fugiente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae".
(Vergilii Georgica, liber IV, 519-526)

Man beachte, dass die zerstückelten Glieder von den Frauen auf den Äckern verstreut werden.Jedes aus dem Scaloian zergliederte Stück wird nach oben geworfen und bei jedem spricht das Mädchen die folgenden Wörter aus:"So hoch wachse der Weizen!(dann der Mais, der Roggen, der Hafer u.s.w.)".In dem kaiserlichen Zeitalter wurde Orpheus als ein Kulturheld betrachtet, der die Menschen die Landwirtschaft gelehrt hatte(Themistios, Orat.3o, S.349).Ovidius(op.cit. XI, 1-66, 93, 597) bringt die Version nach der Orpheus' Haupt, an seine Wunderlyra gefesselt, vom Fluss Hebrus, durch das thrakische Meer, bis zum Ufer der Insel Lesbos treibt.So wurde im Altertum das Blühen jener berühmten Schule lyrischer Dichtung von Lesbos in den VIII-VI Jahrh. v.u.Z. erklärt.

22 Von China und Hinterindien bis Marokko und Mitteleuropa.

23 Der Märchentypus in dem unser Motiv erscheint, wurde auf Grund von 72 rumänischen Varianten aus Siebenbürgen, Moldau, Wallachei und Dobrudscha von C. Bărbulescu erforscht.

24 N. Rădulescu, Sulul - un obicei inedit din ciclul calendaristic [Sulul - ein unbekannter periodischer Volksbrauch]. Revista de etnografie şi folclor[Zeitschrift für Ethnographie und Folklore]Nr.1/1969, S.3-25.Bukarest 1969.

25 Informationen gesammelt im Jahre 1966 in der Ortschaft Ulmeni, Bez. Ilfov.

26 In den Ortschaften Frăsinetu de Jos, Bez. Ilfov, und Seimenii Mari, Bez. Constanţa.

27 s. S.Fl.Marian, Sărbătorile la Români [Die Feste bei den Rumänern]. II.Păresimile.Bukarest 1899.

28 Dasselbe Motiv offenbart sich auch in den folgenden Volksbräuchen: zum Neuen Jahr, oder zum Dreikönigfest werden die im letzten Jahr vermählten Ehepaare aus dem Bett geholt, zum Wasser gebracht und gebadet;zum Heiligen Georg bringen die Burschen die Mädchen zum

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Brunnen und begiessen sie mit Wasser.Bemerkenswert ist die Vorführung des letzteren am Tag des Hl.Georg, des dem antiken Perseus entsprechenden christlichen Helden.In die Sagen, Lieder und Märchen verschiedener christlicher Völker kommt der Hl.Georg als Retter der dem wassersperrenden Drachen angebotenen Prinzessin vor.In vielen Märchenvarianten ereignet sich die Rettungsszene am Brunnen, in dem sich der Drache niedergelassen hat.

29 "...logical relationship does not necessitate organic connection", bemerkt Stith Thompson (The Folktale.New York 1951.S.385).

3o Nach Van Gennep(La Formation des légendes.Paris 191o) ist der Anschluss zum Ritus als unterscheidendes Merkmal des Mythus gegenüber aller übrigen Erzählformen zu betrachten: "...sont mythes les récits objets de croyance qui se traduisent par des actes magiques et religieux"(S. 28);der Mythus ist "une légende en relation avec le monde surnaturel et qui se traduit en acte par des rites"(S. 3o).In Gesellschaften, die sich auf bestimmter Kulturstufe befinden, ist der Mythus eine Triebkraft des Götterkultes(S. 38-39).

31 Diese unitären Quellen sind von dem praktischen Leben gebildet worden.Die Lebensnotwendigkeiten und die Naturzyklen brachten eine doppelte Auslegung der Naturerscheinungen und der Welt hervor, zwar einerseits unter der Priesterkaste und andererseits unter den Volksmassen.Das führte zum Parallelismus:Priesterkult-Volkskult, Priestermythologie-Volksmythologie.

32 Das ist der Fall der demythisierten Rituallieder oder der der nichtzeremoniellen Lieder, die einem überlebenden Ritus angeschlossen sind. Das Lied kann sogar vollkommen verschwinden, während die rituelle Handlung auch wortlos noch fortgeführt wird.

33 So, zum Beispiel, das Groteske einiger Scaloian-Texte unterhält die parodistische Ausführung dieses Volksbrauches.

34 "In kleinen «Gärten» , die wenigstens in ptolemäischer Zeit aus einem steinernen Kasten mit einem darunter befindlichen Wasserbehälter bestanden, verfertigte man aus Erde, Wasser und Getreidekörnern Lehm-Abbilder von Osiris.Unter dem Einfluss des Wassers und der Sonne spross aus den Körnern das junge Grün hervor, das den jedoch nicht auf der Erde, sondern im Totenreich auferstandenen Gott symbolisierte.Solche und andere Götterbilder legte man an einem gewissen Tage auf kleine, mit Lampen versehene, Papyrusboote".(Liungman, op.cit., S.131).

35 "Des images d'Adonis, en cire ou en terre cuite, étaient couchées devant l'entrée ou sur les terrasses des maisons; les femmes entou-

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raient ces simulacres, les promenaient par la ville, en se lamentant et en se frappant la poitrine avec toutes les démonstrations de la plus vive douleur...Ces petits jardins artificiels étaient exposés avec les images du dieu dans la pompe des Adonies, puis on les jetait dans la mer ou dans les fontaines."(Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, s.v.Adonis). Dass zwischen dem Osiris- und dem Adoniskult eine genetische Verbindung besteht, das sagt uns auf allegorische Weise die Reise des Osiris von Ägypten nach Byblos, in Phönizien, wo der Leib des Gottes in einem Baumstamm eingewickelt, zu einer Säule des Königspalastes wird.

36 I.I.Russu(Religia Geto-Dacilor..., in "Anuarul Institutului de studii clasice", Band V, S.61-139, Cluj 1949) hat das chthonio-agrarische Wesen des Zamolxes, jenes Gottes, der stirbt und aufersteht und der Hauptgott der Dazier war, bewiesen.

37 Sehr interessante Hinweise in dieser Richtung bietet der Aufsatz von B.A.Rybakow:Kosmogonija i mifologija zemledeljcev eneolita [Die Kosmogonie und Mythologie der Landwirte Chalkolithikums] , in "Sowetskaja Archeologija" 1965 Nr.1, S.24-27;Nr.2, S.13-33.

38 In den Katakomben findet man christliche Figurendarstellungen die den Orpheus "teils unter allerlei Tieren, teils nur unter Schafen zeigen, wodurch er sich dem Typus des guten Hirtes nähert."(Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft..., s.v.Orpheus).

39 "survivals from an archaic mental condition" oder "relics of ancient customs" (A.Lang in Margaret Hunt, Grimm's Household Tales, I, XVIII)

40 Das vorläufige Vorhandensein lokaler Kulte ähnlichen Typus wie der der später nachkommenden Elemente ist eine Hypothese die wohl erklären könnte weshalb und wie die letzteren in bestimmten Migrationsgebiete beibehalten und fixiert worden sind.

41 Der Isiskult ist epigraphisch auf dem rumänischen Gebiet bewiesen.

42 Diese Tatsache könnte die Meinung Van Gennep's: "Il existe des «provinces» ou «aires thématiques» qui ne répondent ni aux provinces linguistiques, ni aux provinces ethniques, ni aux provinces culturelles.Autrement dit:la production thématique populaire ne dépend ni de la langue, ni de la race, ni de la civilisation.Tout au plus semble-t-il exister une concordance entre elle et les régions géographiques" (op. cit., S.44-45) bestätigen.Er nennt diese Regionen - unter denen er auch die Mittelmeergebiete erwähnt - "provinces thématiques".

43 In der Gegenwart hat der Lazăr-Brauch fast völlig seine vegetationale Bedeutung verloren, der Scaloian wird zu eine Bestattungsparodie, während der Sul eine Gelegenheit für soziale Unterhaltung wurde.

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ESSAI SUR LE MODÈLE DE CONSTRUCTION ET LE MODÈLE LOGIQUE DANS LE CONTE FANTASTIQUE ROUMAIN

par

Stanca Fotino

La recherche structuraliste part de l'idée, qu'il démontre, que le conte oral est un système d'éléments se trouvant en corrélation, un code de communication. Le déchiffrement de ce système, de ces éléments en corrélation fait l'objet de l'étude structuraliste de la création orale. Le but et le mode de recherche est indiqué par le prof. Mihai Pop: "Comme dans tout système structural, dans les narrations populaires les motivèmes en tant qu'éléments significatifs à fonction propre, sont en corrélation entre eux et, au delà des sujets, constituent les moules, les modèles avec lesquels opère le genre. Le déchiffrement des motivèmes, aussi bien sur le plan syntagmatique que sur le plan paradigmatique, la recherche du modèle, constituent donc l'objet de la recherche structuraliste[1].

Nous essayerons de préciser, dans les développements qui suivent, quelques notions et critères nous aidant à déchiffrer des modèles dans le cadre du conte fantastique, des modèles de construction globale et des modèles d'éléments et de systèmes de relations entre eux.

Nous considérons le conte, son contenu, comme un intermédiaire entre deux situations opposées possibles: à une extrémité se trouve l'élément non naturel (la situation malheureuse), à l'autre, l'élément naturel (la situation heureuse).

Pour que le cycle soit parfaitement fermé, il est

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1 Mihai Pop, Le caractère formalisé des créations orales, Secolul XX, nº 5, 1967.

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nécessaire de faire précéder le premier élément d'une situation naturelle (heureuse), qui constituerait une première image de l'élément naturel final. On ne peut pourtant mettre le signe de l'équivalence entre le naturel initial (naturel 1) et le naturel final (naturel 2), l'action du conte n'étant pas une simple reconstruction, un rétablissement, mais une réalité nouvelle ayant son apport, comportant un surplus final. Les actants et les actions qui poussent les choses vers le naturel doivent être récompensés, leur récompense étant constituée justement par cette addition au naturel 1 (naturel 2 - naturel 1 = récompense). Il y a une équivalence de signe inverse avec les actants et les actions qui cherchent à maintenir le non-naturel et qui exigent la punition. Seule cette solution à sens négatif permet également celle à sens positif (la récompense, le surplus).

Un premier modèle général de construction est constitué par l'oscillation entre la situation naturelle et la situation non naturelle, en supposant un naturel initial endommagé. La liquidation de l'acte préjudiciable signifie la solution que nous avons appelée punition, tandis que l'action qui aboutit au naturel final se joint à la solution que nous avons appelée récompense. Nous notons graphiquement ce modèle comme suit ⌜+ 1⌝ ⌜→ ⌝ ⌜+ 2⌝. Ce modèle peut être amplifié par des phases intermédiaires du naturel et du non naturel, dans des positions provisoires, imparfaites.

Prenons comme exemple de ce modèle l'une de ses formes amplifiées.

Le conte "Cenuşotcă"[2] ⌜Cendrillon⌝ est construit sur le motif bien connu de Cendrillon (type 510 a): la marâtre persécute la fille de son mari. Par des travestissements, à

2 Ovidiu Bîrlea, Antologie de proză populară epică, I^er vol., p.517

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l'aide des conseils d'un coq et d'un objet auxiliaire, la jeune fille se fait remarquer par le fils de l'empereur. L'épreuve du soulier perdu la destine à devenir impératrice. Sa demi--soeur intervient, la tue. Mais elle se métamorphose, se fait reconnaître et reprend ses droits.

Au début, il y a une famille naturellement constituée (ici la famille est l'élément auteur duquel opère le naturel et le non-naturel). Il s'agissait donc d'une famille naturellement constituée: la mère - le père - la fille. C'est la situation naturelle initiale: [+ 1]. Un facteur opposant objectif - la mort (- 1) intervient; la mort de la mère signifie une non-famille, donc une situation non naturelle [-]

[+ 1] → (-) → [-].

La tendance vers l'intégration, vers le naturel, apporte un essai de réintégration. Il en résulte donc une famille non naturellement constituée: le père - la marâtre - la fille - - la fille du mari. Les relations correspondent au type de famille, relations d'inimitié, donc non naturelles. On est arrivé à la situation non naturelle, à laquelle la tendance préétablie vers le naturel cherche à porter remède. C'est pourquoi est nécessaire un ~~acteur~~ actant adjuvant (+), qui procède à une série de tentatives de reconstitution. Il obtient une reconstitution provisoire, imparfaite, du naturel. Le caractère imparfait est préétabli, l'éthique populaire n'admet pas le naturel parfait, définitif, dans les conditions de l'existence des éléments qui ont contribué au non-naturel. Le naturel parfait suppose une liquidation de ceux-ci. Donc, la situation non naturelle à laquelle on est arrivé par l'action adjuvante (+), par des travestissements, connaît une reconstitution au stade de l'imperfection: [-] → (+) → [+ a]. Le mariage, qui signifie justement

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ce stade, mène à une nouvelle famille. Face à ce nouvel état familial, intervient un nouvel ~~acteur~~ actant - opposant - la fille de la marâtre (-). Cette dernière n'est pas un ~~acteur~~ actant opposant actif; elle n'est qu'un agent imposé par l'action de l'~~ac-~~ faut ~~teur~~ opposant réel - la mort et une simple expression du non-naturel, de l'inimitié. La fille de la marâtre - par une forme amplifiée de l'inimitié en tant qu'état permanent - intervient par la violence (-). Ce caractère amplifié s'explique par deux éléments: d'abord l'opposante est dans une situation de compétition avec sa soeur au titre d'impératrice et, en second lieu, l'~~acteur~~ actant opposant intervient cette fois-ci dans une situation heureuse qu'il veut détruire; la marâtre intervenait dans une situation non naturelle, malheureuse, qu'elle devait seulement maintenir.

Le caractère de compétition de la relation ~~non~~ héros - ac- ~~faut~~ ~~teur~~ - opposant explique l'action violente. Le conte sur le thème „blanche-neige" (type 709), présente des arguments suffisants: il s'agit ici d'une concurrence de beauté physique entre la fille et la marâtre. C'est pourquoi cette dernière devient un ~~acteur~~ actant opposant réel, agissant en conséquence. Elle remplit le rôle d'expression du non-naturel dans la séquence dans laquelle la mort est l'opposant, mais également celui que remplissait la fille de la marâtre, d'acteur opposant, dans la séquence de la concurrence. La violence détruit donc le naturel imparfait; on arrive à un nouveau non-naturel provisoire, imparfait: [+ a] → (-) → [- a].

Par l'intervention d'un nouvel ~~acteur~~ actant adjuvant - la métamorphose (+) - on arrive à une réparation parfaite définitive.

[- a] → (+) → [+ 2].

La mise à nu des opposants, la punition cruelle

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de la fille de la vieille et pas de celle-ci, est en corrélation avec leur rôle défini, dont nous avons parlé plus haut. La mise à nu et la punition de l'opposante permet l'existence d'un naturel parfait, créé toujours autour de l'idée de famille. Il en résulte une famille naturellement constituée. Le modèle est donc:

$$[+\,1] \rightarrow (-) \rightarrow [-]$$
$$[-] \rightarrow (+) \rightarrow [+\,a]$$
$$[+a] \rightarrow (-) \rightarrow [-\,a]$$
$$[-\,a] \rightarrow (+) \rightarrow [+\,2]$$

[+ 1] et [+ 2] ne sont pas équivalents; le surplus obligatoire intervient - celui de la récompense - [+ 2] qui réalise le saut dans le monde impérial.

Le modèle est ici ternaire amplifié d'un couple de situations, reflétant l'imperfection: naturel 1 - non-naturel - naturel imparfait - non-naturel correspondant - naturel 2.

Voilà le modèle général de construction du texte du conte fantastique, du point de vue de la tendance permanente vers l'équilibre. Nous devons relever le fait que le modèle n'est pas centré sur la reconstitution d'un naturel initial, mais sur un naturel nouvellement créé, un naturel qualitatif nouveau par le surplus qu'il suppose.

x

x x

Nous poursuivons en cherchant à trouver le modèle du conte, le modèle de construction logique, en opérant avec des éléments relationnels de logique mathématique. Ces fonctions logiques correspondent à des relations de conte entre des éléments (que nous noterons avec X) et des états ou actions (que nous noterons avec Y). Nous ferons ressortir la situation en rapport avec les éléments existants ou non existants.

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Les fonctions dont nous nous servons sont les suivantes: 1) la fonction Et - qui exprime la concomitance des éléments entrés en relation; la fonction est notés

ou $Y = X_1 \cap X_2$.

2) La fonction OUI = qui exprime la correspondance des éléments; elle est notée: $X \longrightarrow D \longrightarrow Y$ ou $Y = X$.

3) La fonction NON - qui exprime l'opposition, la négation de l'élément; elle est notée: $X \longrightarrow \ominus \longrightarrow Y$ ou $Y = \overline{X}$.

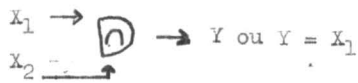
4) La fonction OU - qui exprime la suffisance d'un seul élément, mais en même temps sa nécessité; elle est notée:

ou $Y = X_1 \cup X_2$.

5) La fonction OU EXCLUSIF - qui indique le fait que de deux éléments, un seul est nécessaire et lui seul, donc rejette la concomitance que la fonction OU admettait; elle est notée

ou $Y = X_2 \theta X_2$.

6) La fonction INTERDICTION - qui indique le fait que de deux éléments le premier doit nécessairement exister, tandis que le second doit nécessairement faire défaut; elle est notée



ou $Y = X_1 \cap \overline{X}_2$.

Nous reprenons en discussion le conte "Cenuşotcă" dont nous nous servons pour exemplifier.

En présence d'un élément X_1 (la fille) et en l'absence d'un élément X_2 (la mère), intervient un troisième élément X_3 (la marâtre), remplaçant non naturel de X_2.

Donc la concomitance de l'élément présent et de l'élément absent, explique l'apparition d'un troisième:

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$X_1 \rightarrow$

$X_2 - \ominus \rightarrow \cap \rightarrow X_3$ ou X_3 apparaît par le fait de la relation $X_1 \cap \bar{X}_2$.

Cette situation apporte donc de nouveaux éléments: X_1 (la fille), X_3 (la marâtre), X_4 (la fille de celle-ci). La concomitance de tous ces éléments détermine un certain état non-naturel Y_1 (inimitié).

$X_1 \rightarrow$
$X_3 \rightarrow \cap \rightarrow Y_1$ ou $Y_1 = X_1 \cap X_3 \cap X_4$.
$X_4 \rightarrow$

Mais X_1 change de valeur comme élément; X_1 devient impératrice: X'_1. En même temps et naturellement, l'état Y_1 change aussi, il devient Y'_1 (envie, un état amplifié d'Y_1). Ces changements s'expriment par une relation de concomitance:

$$X_1 \rightarrow X'_1 \rightarrow D \rightarrow Y_1 \rightarrow Y'_1.$$

La concomitance du nouvel élément et du nouvel état détermine une action Y_2 - le dommage, lequel a pour conséquence une mort non naturelle:

$X'_1 \rightarrow$
$Y'_1 \rightarrow \cap \rightarrow Y_2$ ou $Y_2 = X'_1 \cap Y'_1$.

$Y_1 - Y'_1 - Y_2$ sont des degrés différents d'intensité d'un état, état qui conduit l'action et les personnages:

dommage = mort (a) non naturelle (b)
Y_2 = a b
$\cap$
C (signe, marque du non-naturel).

Par le déchiffrement du signe, donc par sa négation, la fille impériale réapparaît:

$$C \rightarrow \ominus \rightarrow X'_1$$

Nous avons de nouveau présents les trois éléments

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X_1, X_3, X_4. Par une relation OU EXCLUSIF le dénouement doit se décider. La situation naturelle finale (Y_3) impose l'élimination des éléments opposants, lesquels entrent dans la relation d'interdiction en tant que groupe second.

Donc la relation: $X_1 \longrightarrow$
$X_3 \longrightarrow$ (@) ou $X_1 \,@\, X_3 \,@\, X_4$
$X_4 \longrightarrow$

devient $X_1 \longrightarrow$
$X_3 \longrightarrow$ (∩) Y_3 ou $Y_3 = X_1 \cap \overline{X}_3 \cap \overline{X}_4$.
$X_4 \longrightarrow$

Y_1 - inimitié - s'exprime par une relation de concomitance:
$Y_1 = X_1 \cap X_3 \cap X_4$ - situation non naturelle.
Y_3 - situation naturelle - s'exprime par une relation d'interdiction: $Y_1 = X_1 \cap \overline{X}_3 \cap \overline{X}_4$

$\frac{Y_1}{Y_3} = \frac{X_3 \cap X_4}{\overline{X}_3 \cap \overline{X}_4}$. Il s'agit donc d'un rapport directement proportionnel de la situation naturelle et non naturelle avec la présence et respectivement avec l'absence des éléments hostiles.

Le modèle logique se constitue sur deux lignes - la première , celle des éléments qui, entrant dans différents types de relations entre eux, créent la seconde, celle des états, des situations. On peut remarquer que, lorsque parmi les relations entre les éléments se trouvent aussi ceux qui portent l'acte hostile, les états correspondants créés sont non naturels, disposés dans une gradation ascendante. La situation naturelle finale ne s'obtient que par l'élimination définitive de ces éléments. Cette liquidation n'a lieu que par la confrontation avec l'élément représentant du bien, confrontation qui se décide toujours dans un seul sens.

La situation non naturelle à toujours pour modèle la concomitance des éléments. Parallèlement, la situation

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naturelle a toujours pour modèle l'exclusion obligatoire de l'un ou de l'autre élément.

Le modèle logique du conte fantastique se présente donc comme:

- une relation de concomitance (Et);
- une relation de choix entre éléments (Ou exclusif);
- une relation d'exclusion nécessaire de l'élément second ou d'un groupe second d'éléments (interdiction).

C'est donc toujours un ~~élément~~ modèle ternaire. - Entre ces relations fondamentales s'inscrivent encore d'autres relations secondaires, auxiliaires, comme on l'a vu dans le seul exemple analysé.

20: part of the panoramic series taken on August 26, 1969 (the formal opening session), this captures the same characters in photos of REF/JEF 1–2/2017: 279 and 1–2/2021: 285; from the righthandside: Radu Niculescu, Romulus Vulcănescu, Emilia Comişel, A.B. Lord, Leopold Kretzenbacher: München, the Scandinavian group, K.D. Upadhyaya & S.G. Sankar, A. Babalola, Dov Noy, J. Faragó, the Röhrichs, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Sebeok: Bloomington; first woman in the far distance above: Elisabeta Moldoveanu: Bucharest (FL 1913/11/44390)

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